

Aršāma and his World: The Bodleian Letters in Context

Volume II: Bullae and Seals

Edited by Christopher J. Tuplin and John Ma

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Aršāma and his World

The Bodleian Letters in Context

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CHRISTOPHER J. TUPLIN AND JOHN MA

VOLUME II
BULLAE AND SEALS

M. B. GARRISON, W. F. M. HENKELMAN, D. KAPTAN

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Abbreviations and Conventions

A	accession number of clay tablets and labels from the Persepolis Treasury the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (as e.g. A23374)
ADAB	Naveh and Shaked 2012
BM	clay tablets and other items in the British Museum, London
DS	impressions of seals on <i>bullae</i> from Dascylum in Kaptan 2002
Erg.	excavation inventory numbers of finds from Ergili (Dascylum)
Fort. ####	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, edited by G. G. Cameron, collated by R. T. Hallock, C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper, published in Arfaee 2008a, re-collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
Fort. ####-###	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, edited by M. W. Stolper
GN	geographical name
Kt	accession number of finds of the Kütahya Archaeological Museum
LSJ	H. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. Stuart Jones, <i>Greek–English Lexicon</i> (ninth edition with revised supplement: Oxford, 1996)
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Perse
ML	Meiggs and Lewis 1988
NA	not available
ND	no date
NN	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, edited by R. T. Hallock, collated and prepared for publication by W. F. M. Henkelman
OCHRE	Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment (Oriental Institute, Chicago)
OP	Old Persian
Pell.Aram.	leather document associated with Aršāma, Bodleian Library
PF	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, published by R. T. Hallock (1969) and collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
PFA	Persepolis Fortification archive

PFa	Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, published by R. T. Hallock (1978) and collated by W. F. M. Henkelman
PFAT	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablet, for clay tablets on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, provisionally edited by R. A. Bowman, edited and prepared for publication by Annalisa Azzoni
PFATS	Persepolis Fortification Aramaic Tablets Seal
PFATS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFATS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal
PFS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PFUT	Persepolis Fortification Uninscribed Tablet, for clay tablets on loan in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
PFUTS	Persepolis Fortification Uninscribed Tablet Seal
PFUTS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PFUTS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
PN	personal name
PT	Elamite documents from the Treasury archive edited by Cameron (1948, 1958, 1965), with collations and corrections in Hallock 1960, Arfae 2008b, and Jones and Yie 2011
PT# ###	Field number assigned to artefacts excavated from the Treasury at Persepolis (e.g., PT4 673)
PTS	Persepolis Treasury Seal, occurring on PT tablets and ‘labels’
PTS #*	ditto, and indicating that the seal is inscribed
PTS #s	ditto, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal
QA	quart
SHS	impressions of seals from Seyitömer Höyük
Sigill.Aram.	Sealed letter- <i>bullae</i> associated with the Aramaic leather documents of Aršāma, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford
TADAE	Porten and Yardeni 1986–99
TCL 13	Moore 1935
UCL	University College London
Y.	Yasna
YOS 7	Tremayne 1925
Yt.	Yašt

PERSIAN ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS

The following sigla represent Persian royal inscriptions: DB, DNe, DPb, DPg, DPh, DSab, DSf, DSz, DZc, XPf, XPh, XV, A²Sa, A³Pb. (DB_e and DB_p designate the Elamite and Old Persian versions of DB.) For these see Kent 1953 (text and English translation of the OP version), Schmitt 2009 (texts and German translations of the OP versions), Lecoq 1997 (French translation covering OP, Akkadian, Elamite, and Aramaic versions), Steve 1987 (text and French translation of Susa inscriptions covering OP, Akkadian, and Elamite versions), Schmitt 1991 (text and English translation of the OP version of DB), Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt, and Malbran-Labat 1993 (text and French translation of Elamite version of DB), Von Voigtlander 1978 (text and English translation of the Akkadian version of DB), Malbran-Labat 1994 (text and French translation of the Akkadian version of DB), TADAE C2.1 (text and English translation of the Aramaic version of DB), Schmitt 2000 (text and English translation of the OP version of the Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis inscriptions). Most important items are also available in English translation in Kuhrt 2007.

ARAMAIC TEXTS

The majority of the Aramaic texts to which reference is made in this publication are from four *corpora*, TADAE, ATNS, CG, and ADAB. Sigla in the form A6.3 (i.e. letter (A–D) number, stop, number) designate texts published in TADAE. Specific line numbers within a text are indicated by appending a colon and number, e.g. A6.3:2. Sigla in the form A2 (i.e. letter (A–D) and number) designate texts in ADAB. Specific line numbers within a text are indicated by appending a colon and number, e.g. A2:2. Texts from CG or ATNS are always labelled as such, e.g. CG 175 or ATNS 25 or (with a specific line number) CG 175:2 or ATNS 25:2.

PAPYRI

In the absence of information at the point of citation, papyrus publications can be identified from J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong, and K. A. Worp (edd.), *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, fifth edition (2001) or online at <http://www.papyri.info/docs/checklist>

JOURNAL TITLES

Abbreviations for journal titles follow the lists in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* 20 (*U and W*) (Chicago, 2010), vii–xxix and *L'Année philologique* (see <https://about.brepolis.net/aph-abbreviations/>), giving precedence to the former in cases of disagreement. Journal titles are left unabbreviated in cases of ambiguity or when the journal in question is absent from both lists.

DATES

Unless otherwise indicated all dates, except those in bibliographical references, are BC.

Month–year dates in Persepolis documents are given in the form XI/23, which designates the eleventh month of year 23. The form XIe indicates that the text uses the Elamite, not the Persian, month name. Occasionally a specific day is indicated as well, giving e.g. 29/XII/21.

CROSS-REFERENCING

Commentary A single line in one of the Bodleian letters regularly generates several distinct notes in the Commentary (on distinct *lemmata*). When this occurs the notes are numbered (1), (2), (3) etc., this number being appended to the salient line number, giving e.g. ‘line 1(2)’. A cross-reference in the form A6.3:1(2) n. refers to the second note on A6.3:1. Cross-references within the commentary on a single letter may be in the form ‘above, line 1(2) n.’

Essays A cross-reference in the form Tuplin iii 34 refers to p. 34 of volume III of this publication. Cross-references within a single essay are characteristically indicated with a simple page or note number (e.g. ‘above, p. 27’, ‘below, n. 27’).

List of Contributors

Mark B. Garrison is Alice Pratt Brown Distinguished Professor of Art History at Trinity University.

Wouter F. M. Henkelman is Associate Professor of Elamite and Achaemenid History and Culture at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris.

Deniz Kaptan is Adjunct Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Reno.

John Ma is Professor of Classics at Columbia University.

Christopher J. Tuplin is Gladstone Professor of Greek at the University of Liverpool.

Catalogue of *Bullae*

Mark B. Garrison and Deniz Kaptan

INTRODUCTION

There are eight clay documents associated with the Aršāma dossier in the Bodleian Library.¹ To avoid confusion, we will refer to these clay documents as letter-*bullae*.² Seven of them (Sigill.Aram. I–III, V–VIII (Figs. 1.4–1.18 and 1.25–1.47, Pls. 1–3 and 5–8)) have a single impression of a large cylinder seal that carries an Aramaic inscription naming Aršāma (PFS 2899* (Fig. 1.1)); one letter-*bulla* (Sigill.Aram. IV (Figs. 1.19–1.23, Pl. 4)) has a single impression of a stamp seal (Fig. 1.24).³ The letter-*bullae* as objects *per se* have never been systematically described, photographed, or studied.

¹ The authors examined the letter-*bullae* on two separate occasions, January 2011 and August 2012. We would like to express our thanks to Christopher Tuplin and John Ma for their invitation to study the letter-*bullae*. Access to the material in the Bodleian was facilitated by Dr Gillian Evison, to whom we also express our thanks. The drawings of the letter-*bullae* here published are by Deniz Kaptan. On our use of the term ‘letter-*bullae*’, see below n. 2. In what follows the *bullae* are designated by the current Bodleian catalogue numbers, Sigill.Aram. I–VIII. Photographs of the letter-*bullae* are at a scale of approximately 1.5:1 except where noted.

² It has long been recognized that the term *bulla* is an imprecise one, used to designate documents of various materials (clay, wax, etc.) with a variety of shapes and functions (see e.g. Kaptan 2002: 1.13–14). In its widest sense, the term *bulla* within the context of western Asia designates a lump of clay, most often carrying impression(s) of seal(s), that was used to secure doors, objects (boxes, sacks, jars, etc.), and letters (see Herbordt 1992: 33–70, concerning sealing practices in the Neo-Assyrian period). Sealed documents that serve such functions are generally uninscribed, but in some cases they may carry short inscriptions in cuneiform. Often the lumps of clay are placed over knots of rope or string securing the object (rather than directly on the object itself). *Bullae*, used in this general sense, thus assume a variety of forms depending on the nature of the object to which they are attached. Such sealed objects also go in the scholarly literature under the terms *sealings*, *tags*, *labels*, etc. Lumps of clay sealed on both sides have been referred to as *bulla*-labels (Rakic 2014: 195, Rakic 2018: 87–92). We shall use the term letter-*bulla* to distinguish the clay documents associated with the Aršāma correspondence in Oxford, since it is clear that all eight of the documents were at one time attached to leather documents (see the discussion below).

³ For analysis of the visual imagery on the cylinder seal, see Garrison & Henkelman ii 83–129; for the stamp seal, see Garrison & Kaptan ii 167–71.



1.1. Collated line drawing of the seal of Aršāma, PFS 2899*.

There are approximately twenty-six leather documents associated with the Aršāma dossier now in the Bodleian.⁴ Eleven of these documents are letters written by Aršāma. How, exactly, the eight clay letter-*bullae* relate to these texts is uncertain. We assume that the large cylinder seal inscribed with the name of Aršāma that is applied to seven of the letter-*bullae* was used by Aršāma.⁵ The Bodleian possesses then eleven letters on leather written by Aršāma and seven letter-*bullae* sealed with his seal—thus, more letters than letter-*bullae*. Presumably some or all of the surviving letter-*bullae* were at one point attached to some of the surviving letters.⁶

There are several indications that some of the letters associated with Aršāma were still in their folded and sealed state when they were first studied.⁷ Allen i 15 states that when the collection reached Oxford, ‘most of the well-preserved letters were already opened and had been sealed between glass’. She further reports, moreover, based upon a personal communication from Porten, that when new photographs were prepared for Porten and Yardeni (1986), ‘the remaining sealed letter was also opened’. Two features of the current preservation of the letter-*bullae* deserve note in this regard. First, the upper edges of four letter-*bullae*, Sigill.Aram. I (Figs. 1.4–1.8, Pl. 1), Sigill.Aram. II (Figs. 1.9–1.13, Pl. 2), Sigill.Aram. V (Figs. 1.25–1.30, Pl. 5), and Sigill.Aram. VI (Figs. 1.31–1.35, Pl. 6), whose ‘wings’ clearly overlapped the leather document in its sealed state, have been broken and glued back onto the main bodies of the letter-*bullae*; following Allen (2013: 26), the opening of the letters in modern times appears to have been the cause of this breakage.⁸ Second, where the ends of the string are preserved and visible (Sigill.Aram. II–III (Figs. 1.9–1.18, Pls. 2–3), V–VIII (Figs. 1.25–1.47, Pls. 5–8)), they all appear freshly cut.

As conventionally understood, but based upon rather limited empirical data, official letters such as those associated with the Aršāma dossier in the

⁴ See Tuplin i 265, iii 22. There are eleven mostly well-preserved (A6.3–A6.13 = Porten and Yardeni 1986: 102–23) and twelve fragmentary letters (D6.3–D6.14 = Porten and Yardeni 1999: 135, 138–50), in Aramaic on leather, either written to or from Aršāma; by convention, A6.14–A6.16 (= Porten and Yardeni 1986: 124–9) are also included in the dossier, although these letters are neither authored by nor addressed to Aršāma.

⁵ See Garrison & Henkelman ii 48.

⁶ The same will be true of Sigill.Aram. IV (Figs. 1.19–1.23, Pl. 4) with its single impression of a quite distinct stamp seal (Fig. 1.24): see the catalogue entry below, pp. 22–6.

⁷ For the various issues surrounding the state of the leather and clay documents when they were originally purchased by Borchardt and then subsequently by the Bodleian, see Allen i 12–18. Allen (2013: 26) writes: ‘... the letters were purchased in Egypt from a dealer who had already opened several, and it is unclear how many were still attached to their sealings. The letters were purchased with one or two fragmentary leather bags, but were not still inside them, and the find-spot of the whole assemblage is unknown.’

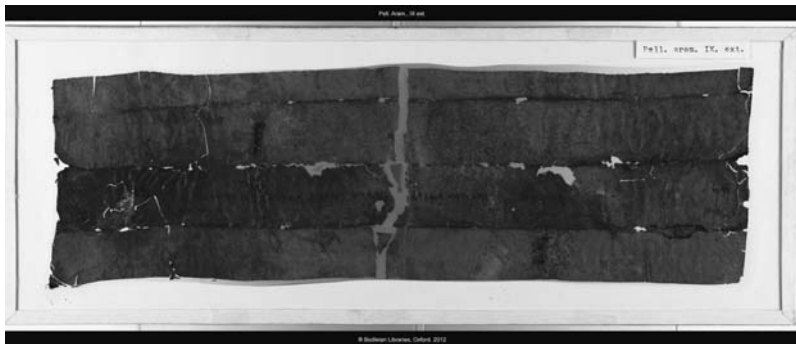
⁸ Allen (2013: 26): ‘Several of the Arshama letters seem also to have been found not just closed, but sealed and unopened; the “wings” of the sealings which once enclosed the letter package have been broken but retrieved and glued back together in modern times and their straw-yellow string sharply cut.’

Bodleian would have been folded, tied, and then sealed before being sent out.⁹ Indeed, even a cursory glance at the surviving letters in the Bodleian reveals horizontal (with the exception of Pell.Aram. VIII (A6.9), see below) and vertical creases from the folding (Figs. 1.2–1.3); all of the surviving letter-*bullae* have the impressions of the string on their reverses and/or the actual string.¹⁰

One assumes also that the beginning of the address on the outside of the letter was visible in the bundled letter, the letter-*bulla* being applied in that address in the large vacant space between the preposition ‘from’ and ‘Aršāma’ (see Yardeni’s copy of the outside of Pell.Aram. IX, bottom text in Fig. 1.3); the formula thus appears as follows:¹¹

mn [vacant space for letter-*bulla*] Aršāma ʾl PN . . .
 ‘From [vacant space for letter-*bulla*] Aršāma to addressee . . .’

Of the eleven letters from Aršāma in the Bodleian dossier (A6.3–A6.13), A6.6 is so poorly preserved that the area for the address on the outside of the letter is missing. Pell.Aram. VIII (A6.9) is an open letter, a travel authorization for Nakhthor; there is, thus, no address on the outside of the letter.¹² That leaves nine possible letters addressed by Aršāma where one may have expected the



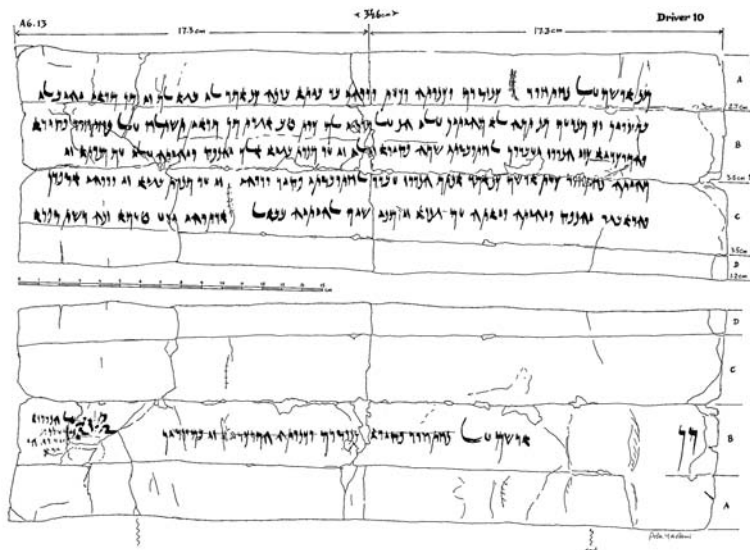
1.2. Pell.Aram. IX (TADAE A6.13).

⁹ Examples of Aramaic documents surviving in their folded and sealed state include e.g. a legal document from Elephantine dated 402 (Kuhrt 2007: 816, fig. 16.7) and a rather enigmatic item among the Bactrian documents in the Khalili Collection, ADAB C2, dated to year 1 of an unnamed king and so assignable in principle to 359/8, 338/7, or 336/5: see Hyland 2013: 4. (There is no good reason to follow Naveh and Shaked 2012: 187–91 in identifying the king as Alexander, yielding a date of 330/29.) See also Kaptan ii 173–4.

¹⁰ As Allen (2013: 24) points out, most of the (intact) Aršāma letters were folded according to a well-known protocol: first folded several times horizontally upwards, then once vertically, to ‘form a small, packed-like baton’. A string was then wound around the middle of the folded document. The only recognizable exception is Sigill.Aram. VIII, which appears to have been attached to an open letter (cf. the catalogue entry below).

¹¹ The phenomenon is standard in official and private letters from various sources. See also the discussion in Garrison 2017a: 563–68. Allen (2013: 25, 27, 31–2) offers some comments on the linking of letters with letter-*bullae* (see below n. 13).

¹² See Tuplin i 147.



1.3. Yardeni's autograph copy of Pell.Aram. IX (TADAE A6.13) (Porten and Yardeni 1986: 123).

preservation of his sealed letter-*bullae* (thus two more than the seven letter-*bullae* that carry the seal of Aršāma).

Yardeni's autograph copies of six letters addressed by Aršāma, Pell.Aram. VII (A6.3), Pell.Aram. II (A6.8), Pell.Aram. VI (A6.5), Pell.Aram. I (A6.10), Pell.Aram. III (A6.12), and Pell.Aram. IX (A6.13 (Fig. 1.3)), have the annotations 'Seal' (A6.3, A6.12, and A6.13), 'Seal (?)' (A6.8), or 'Seal?' (A6.5 and A6.10) in the lower right of the drawings with a line running up to the lower right corners of the outside of the letters (i.e. the area on the outside of the letter where the address starts). For Pell.Aram. VII (A6.3), in horizontal zone B, she has indicated what appear to be the outlines of where a letter-*bulia* was attached in the large vacant space between the preposition 'from' and 'Aršāma'. These annotations to Yardeni's autograph copies are not explained at any point in the publication. One is tempted to suggest that the three letters with the annotations 'Seal' (i.e. A6.3, A6.12, and A6.13 (Fig. 1.3)) are in fact letters that Yardeni at least knew were at one point in modern times still folded, tied, and physically sealed with one of the surviving letter-*bullae*. What is less clear is why Yardeni marked only three other letters (A6.8, A6.5, and A6.10) with 'Seal (?)' or 'Seal?' That leaves us one letter short to account for the seven surviving letter-*bullae* carrying the seal of Aršāma. Three other letters are possible candidates, TADAE A6.4, A6.7, and A6.11. On all three letters the addresses on the outside are well preserved.¹³

¹³ Photographs of the Bodleian documents taken with raking light reveal depressions that seem to have been caused by the sealings. John Ma, Christopher Tuplin, and Lindsay Allen experimented with the position of the sealings on the documents. Allen (2013: 27, caption to Fig. 2) links Sigill. Aram. VIII (Figs. 1.41–1.47, Pl. 8), the letter-*bulia* with interlinked string that is anomalous

In the end, the difficulty of linking specific letter-*bullae* with specific letters (and the possible information that may be encoded in Yardeni's autograph copies) arises from the questions concerning the original nature of the discovery of all the documents associated with the Aršāma dossier and the lack of any detailed published information about the letter-*bullae*.¹⁴ Allen (i 12–18) summarizes what little is known concerning the circumstances surrounding the purchase of the Aramaic letters on leather, clay letter-*bullae*, and leather bags.¹⁵ Borchart's initial publication of the dossier offered only a few words on the *bullae* ('rötlichgelbem Ton') and the seal impressions (1933: 47).¹⁶ He identified only one seal, the cylinder seal.¹⁷ Driver's first edition (1954: 2) noted the existence of the letter-*bullae* and published (unlabelled) photographic illustrations of all eight clay letter-*bullae* (pl. 23), both obverses and reverses, but did not distinguish that there were two different seals used on the documents.¹⁸ Porten and Yardeni (1999: 230, no. D.14) published a sketch drawing of the impression of the seal of Aršāma, with inscription copy (autograph by Yardeni), on the letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. V (here Figs. 1.25–1.30, Pl. 5).¹⁹

Seven of the letter-*bullae*, six that carry impressions of the seal of Aršāma (Sigill.Aram. I–III, V–VII) and the one that carries an impression of the stamp seal (Sigill.Aram. IV), are square or rectangular in plan and similar in size.

among the surviving letter-*bullae* in the Aršāma dossier, with the open letter Pell.Aram. VIII (A6.9). If that attribution is correct, that would leave six unattributed letter-*bullae* and six Yardeni copies with 'seal' (*vel sim.*) annotation. See Allen (2013: 31–2) for further remarks on traces on the leather documents that seem to betray the placement of seals (with illustrations). Lindsay Allen (pers. comm.) also suggests that Sigill.Aram. IV, the letter-*bullā* that carries the stamp seal, was attached to Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15), one of the letters not written by Aršāma (see below, n. 27).

¹⁴ See Allen i 12–18, Allen 2013: 26. Owing to the rarity of the texts (i.e. satrapal correspondence) and the general predilection to prioritize text over image, the letter-*bullae* have received almost no attention in the published literature associated with the Aršāma dossier.

¹⁵ Allen i 16 observes that the letter-*bullae* did not receive fixed catalogue numbers until 2011. Informal (and different) numbers did exist previously, which is why Porten and Yardeni (D.14.6) described what is now Sigill.Aram. V as Sigill.Aram. VIII.

¹⁶ 'Dabei hatte der Mann eine Anzahl von merkwürdig geformten Siegeln aus rötlichgelbem Ton, wie ich ihn von ägyptischen Siegeln nicht kenne. Der auf allen gleiche Abdruck darauf stammte von einem Rollsiegel, auf dem ein persischer König, abgesessen, einen ebenso abgesessenen Feind im Kampfe erstach. Hinter beiden waren die Streitrosse dargestellt, unter der Szene lagen Tote' (Borchardt 1933: 47). Some of these observations are obviously inaccurate. Furthermore, he only suggested that there may be traces of an Aramaic inscription ('Vielleicht war auch auf dem einen der Siegel oben die Spur einiger aramaischer Schriftzeichen zu erkennen' (Borchardt 1933: 47)), which seems remarkable given the clarity of the inscription on Sigill.Aram. V (Figs. 1.25–1.30, Pl. 5).

¹⁷ See Garrison & Henkelman ii 48 n. 5, concerning other published commentary on the seal of Aršāma.

¹⁸ The caption for pl. 23 in the list of plates (p. viii) reads 'Imprints of Seals on Clay', but it is unclear whether he means to indicate two different seals. Driver's text (1954: 2) is unambiguous: there is only one seal. As Allen notes (18), in the 1957 edition and later reprints the illustrations of the letter-*bullae* were omitted. Exactly why this decision was taken is not known, though it is clearly connected with the change in size/format of the book: the 1957 edition is literally an *editio minor*.

¹⁹ They label the letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII.

They are large by Achaemenid conventions, the widths ranging between 3.30 and 4.00 cm; the heights between 3.15 and 4.10 cm; the greatest thickness (measured at the upper edge) between 0.55 and 1.10 cm.²⁰ They can be roughly characterized as plano-convex; the obverse (i.e. sealed) surface is markedly convex, the right and left edges tapering to quite thin edges. The reverses of these letter-*bullae* are flattish and always preserve the impression(s) of string(s) and/or the actual string itself; the reverse of these seven letter-*bullae* also have impressions of the folded edges of the leather document to which they were attached.²¹

Sigill.Aram. VIII (Figs. 1.41–1.47, Pl. 8) is exceptional in several ways. It is cubic in shape (although the left edge tapers to a blunt point), and the string weaves in and out of the reverse surface creating an ‘X’ within a square (Figs. 1.43–1.44, Pl. 8 (below); see the discussion of this arrangement of the string in the catalogue entry). This letter-*bullā* also does not carry any impressions of the folded edges of a leather document on its reverse. Allen (2013: 29–30) has plausibly suggested that Sigill.Aram. VIII was attached to the travel authorization for Nakththor (Pell.Aram. VIII (A6.9)). As an ‘open letter’, this document has no address on the reverse and clearly was not folded in the manner of the other letters addressed by Aršāma (see below, n. 34).

Six of the letter-*bullae* still preserve parts of the actual strings: Sigill.Aram. II–III (Figs. 1.9–1.18, Pls. 2–3), V–VIII (Figs. 1.25–1.47, Pls. 5–8). The state of preservation of the string fabric is exceptional. Where strings or their impressions are present, they run along the longitudinal axis of the document (as determined by the orientation of the seal impression).

The clay of all the letter-*bullae* is finely levigated and of a pleasant pinkish buff colour; they are generally in an excellent state of preservation. The high quality of the letter-*bullae*, the exceptional imagery and carving finesse of the cylinder seal, the fine quality of the leather of the bags, and the precise format and careful writing of the letters, give the impression of a well-organized bureaucracy, displaying the prestige and pride befitting their satrapal context.

In line with the care invested in the physical format of the Aršāma correspondence, the cylinder seal is rolled in a precise and consistent manner across all but one of the seven letter-*bullae* that carry its impression. The space between the two standing combatants—the central scene on the seal—is carefully

²⁰ Letter-*bullae* dating to the Achaemenid period are known from a variety of locations and contexts. The most relevant with regard to the letter-*bullae* of Aršāma are those found at Dascylium (Kaptan 2002) and Memphis (Petrie *et al.* 1910: 41–2, pls. XXXV–VI). Both sets of documents (see e.g. the discussion in Garrison and Root 2001: 35–7, Kaptan 2002: 1.21–7, Garrison n.d. 2). Also noteworthy (but not as yet studied in its formal characteristics) is the letter-*bullā* attached to Aramaic document ADAB C2, a letter from Achaemenid Bactria, illustrated in Naveh and Shaked 2012: 187. See the discussion in Garrison 2017a: 563–8.

²¹ On the shapes of letter-*bullae* of the first millennium BC, see above, n. 2. The letter-*bullae* of the Aršāma dossier are regular *plombenförmige Tonbullen*, be it that Sigill.Aram. VIII was attached differently.

placed in the central vertical axis of the obverse (Sigill.Aram. I–II (Figs. 1.4 and 1.9, Pl. 1 (above), Pl. 2 (above)), V (Figs. 1.25–1.26, Pl. 5 (above)), and VI (Fig. 1.31, Pl. 6 (above))) or just slightly off the central vertical axis to the left (Sigill.Aram. III (Fig. 1.14, Pl. 3 (above)) and VIII (Figs. 1.41–1.42, Pl. 8 (above))). Exceptional is Sigill.Aram. VII (Fig. 1.36, Pl. 7 (above)), where the horse and dead warrior behind the standing adversary at right are in the central vertical axis of the obverse. As so impressed, the inscription on the seal is preserved only in bits and pieces, if at all, on the letter-*bullae*; the exception is Sigill.Aram. V (Figs. 1.25–1.26, Pl. 5 (above)), which carries a very nice impression of the first two letters of each line.

One letter-*bulła* (Sigill.Aram. VIII (Figs. 1.43–1.44, Pl. 8 (below))) contains a large fragment of what appears to be leather behind the strings on the reverse. This is an important indication that the letter-*bullae* were indeed attached to the leather documents that make up the Aršāma correspondence. The cuts of the preserved strings are also clearly fresh; as noted above, it appears as if at least some of the letter-*bullae* were still attached to the (folded) leather documents when they were found.

The orientation of the letter-*bullae* in the catalogue that follows is determined by the impressions of the cylinder or the stamp seal. The obverse is the surface on which the seal is impressed. On all the letter-*bullae* the seal is applied only once and to only one surface.

All letter-*bullae* are unbaked/unfired.

Yellow/whitish residue is found on Sigill.Aram. I (Figs. 1.4–1.8, Pl. 1), III (Figs. 1.14–1.18, Pl. 3), and IV (Figs. 1.19–1.24, Pl. 4). This residue is yellow where thick and whitish where thin. The exact source of this yellow/whitish residue is unclear. A very diffuse, thin, white film occurs on Sigill.Aram. I (Figs. 1.4–1.8, Pl. 1).

Brownish and/or light brownish discolouration is found on all the letter-*bullae*. In some places, the brownish discolouration appears to have been absorbed into the clay. In other places, the discolouration is darker and appears as if it is a residue resting on the clay. It is clear that the brownish and dark brownish discolouration represent the same phenomenon, since in many places the dark, thick residue turns to brownish discolouration around its edges. The working assumption is that this discolouration is caused by proximity with the leather bag(s); alternatively, the discolouration may be from the letters themselves.

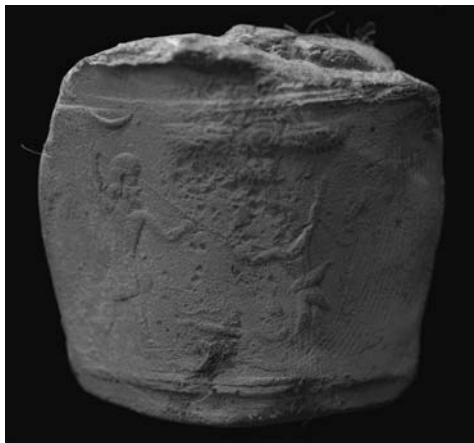
A specialist needs to study the material of the string preserved in the letter-*bullae*. All the letter-*bullae* impressed with the cylinder seal have the same type of string. The string is light yellow in colour and appears generally to consist of two interwoven strands (although on Sigill.Aram. V (Fig. 1.27, Pl. 5 (below)) the string clearly has three strands). We do not have the expertise to determine the material from which this string is made. It is remarkably well preserved. Where the ends of the string are preserved, they generally have clean cuts; in some instances, they have begun to fray.

CATALOGUE

Sigill.Aram. I (Figs. 1.4–1.8, Pl. 1)

General Description

1.4. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. I, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression of the seal is fair-poor.²² The rolling of the seal is partial, with the winged symbol placed in the centre of the impression.

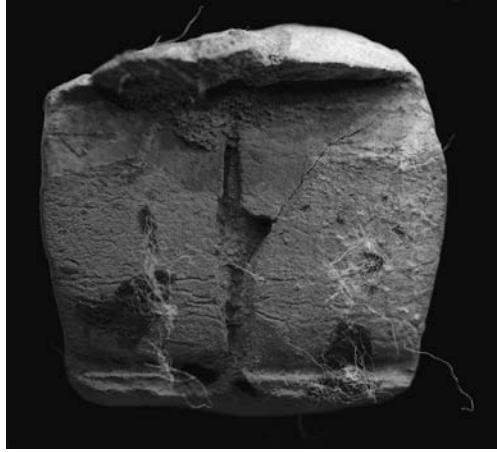
The reverse carries a deep impression of one(?) string, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface, and four string holes. Two string holes emerge next to each other near the middle of bottom edge of the reverse, on axis with the string impression. The third and fourth string holes, appearing as one oblong-shaped hole, emerge near the middle of the top edge of the reverse, on axis with the string impression. At several places on the reverse, long individual fibres of string are attached to a brown residue.

The impressions of the edges of the original folded document run latitudinally along the top and bottom edges of the reverse. At the top the fold of clay is quite thick.

For full description and discussion of the seal design see Garrison & Henkelman ii 63–5.

²² Here and subsequently the General Description covers the seal impression, string, string impressions, and impressions from the surface of the letters.

1.5. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. I, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Preservation

The letter-*bulla* is in two fragments, now glued together; the one fragment is the great bulk of the surviving document; the other is a small section of the folded clay along the top of the reverse. The letter-*bulla* overall is well preserved.

Obverse

There is some damage to the surface in the area of the winged symbol. There are two streaks of brownish discolouration on the bottom of the obverse. The top edge of the obverse also has this brownish discolouration; perhaps some of this may be the result of wear from (modern) handling? The upper right corner of the obverse is covered in a yellow/whitish residue. Areas of a diffuse white film occur on the obverse running parallel to the left edge and in the area of the winged symbol. On the right half of the obverse, there are traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions.

Left Edge

Well preserved.

Right Edge

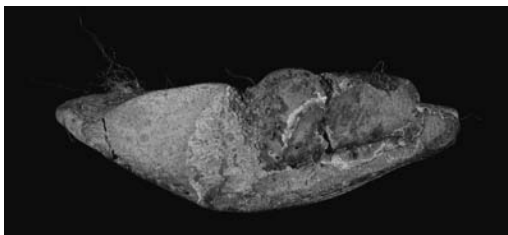
Well preserved.

Upper Edge

A small section of the folded clay along the upper edge, now brownish in colour, is glued onto the main surviving body of the document.²³ This upper-edge

²³ See the comments above, p. 3, concerning the possibility that some or all of the letter-*bullae* were attached to folded leather documents when found and opened at their discovery, when given over to the modern dealer(s), and/or at various stages in their initial study.

1.6. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. I,
upper edge. Now in the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Photograph courtesy of the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.



fragment in fact appears to consist of two pieces, although this cannot be confirmed with visual inspection. This fragment appears to lie over an area of yellow/whitish residue; the area along one edge where the fragment meets the body of the letter-*bullā* is orange in colour, perhaps representing glue(?). Another streak of white colour runs along the top of the repaired section. To the left of the repaired section there is the continuation of the yellow/whitish residue. Traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions may be found on the left of this surface. Small individual fibres of string adhere to the glued interface of the two fragments of the letter-*bullā*.

Bottom Edge

1.7. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. I,
bottom edge. Now in the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Photograph courtesy of the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.

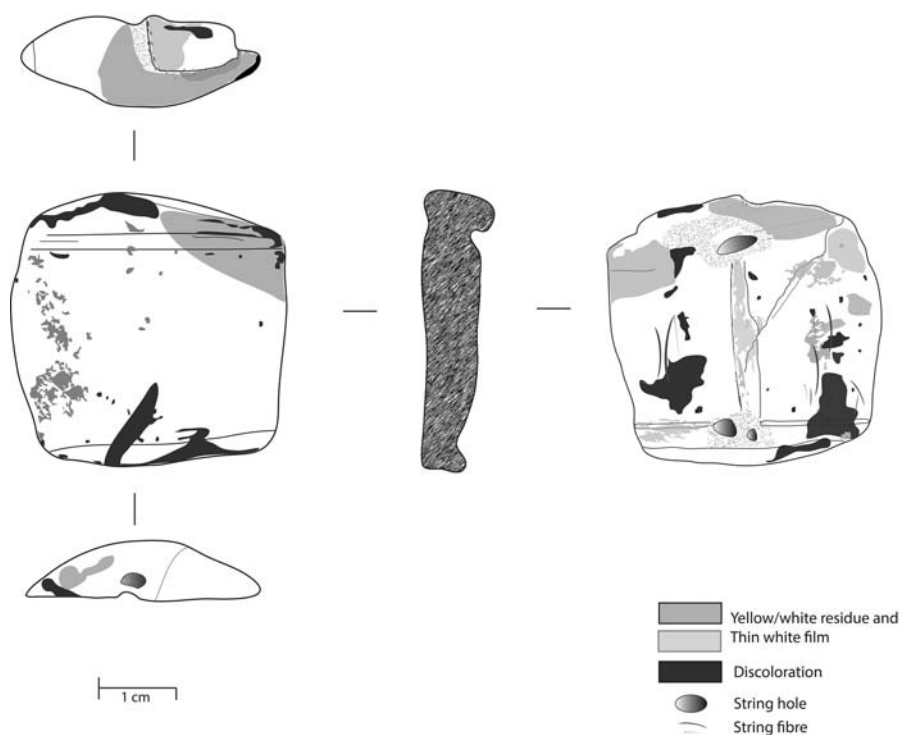


Well preserved. There is a streak of brown discolouration on the left half of this surface. In this same area there is a dark brown residue. The two string holes at the bottom of the reverse may also have emerge on the bottom edge. Traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions may be found on the left of this surface.

Reverse

Well preserved. The impression of the string is damaged near the middle, and a crack runs from this damaged area upwards diagonally to the right corner of the surface. A series of small linear impressions, running latitudinally, is on the lower left quadrant of the reverse. At the bottom right corner, there is a dark brown residue, a continuation of the same substance found on the bottom edge. Another patch of the brown residue is found on the lower left corner of this surface; a much

smaller patch of this residue occurs immediately above the one at lower left. On all three patches of residue individual fibres of string adhere; string fibres also adhere to the lower right quadrant of the surface. These patches of dark brown residue may be remnants of leather from the letter or staining caused by the leather bag. The upper left corner of the surface is covered in the yellow/whitish residue, a continuation of the same residue found on the obverse and upper edge. A diffuse white film runs along the length of the right edge. Around the string holes and in the impression for the string the clay is very porous.



1.8. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. I. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Shape

The letter-*bulla* is approximately square in plan, plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex; the reverse is flat. The bottom edge of the letter-*bulla* is thinner than the upper edge, where the clay has folded over the edge of the original leather document. Right and left edges are sharp and thin.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.60 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 3.50 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 1.10 cm, tapering to 0.40 cm at right and 0.50 cm at left

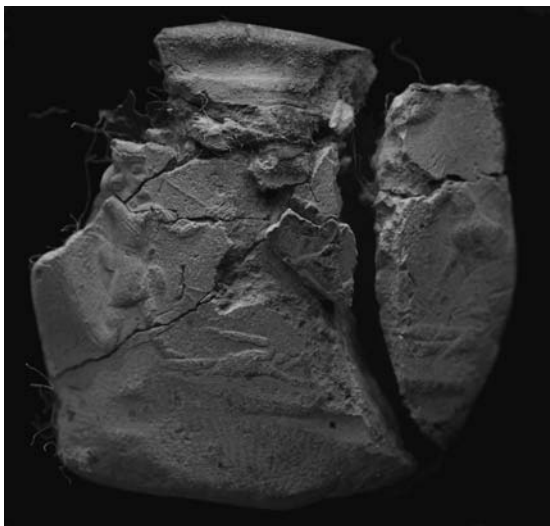
Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.75 cm, tapering to 0.30 cm at right and 0.20 cm at left

Clay

A very finely levigated clay, buff-coloured. There are a few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions.

Sigill.Aram. II (Figs 1.9–1.13, Pl. 2)

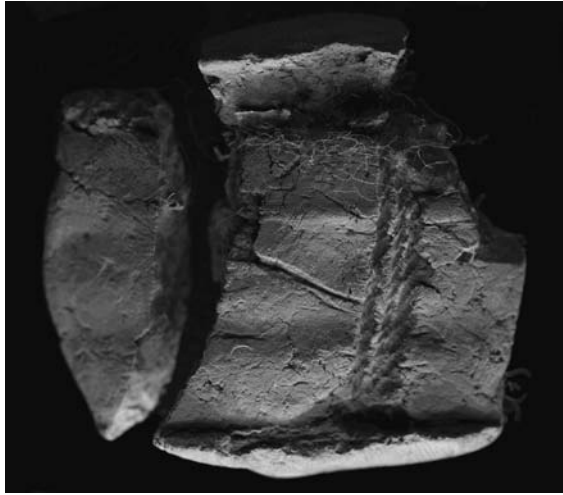
General Description



1.9. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. II, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression is poorly preserved and fragmentary. The rolling of the seal is partial, with the winged symbol placed in the centre of the impression.

String and string fibres emerge on the obverse along the break between fragments #1 and #2 (see below).



1.10. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. II, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The reverse has the impressions of three strings, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface. These string impressions have regularly spaced diagonal hatching, apparently representing the wrapping together of two strands. There are traces of the actual string emerging in the string impression at far left and at the top of the string impression at far right. At the middle of the bottom edge of the reverse, where one would expect the string holes to appear, there is a rectangular-shaped depression. To the left of this depression a string emerges. There is a string hole, poorly preserved, near the middle of the top edge of the reverse, lying to the left of the axis of the string impressions. In the break along the right edge of fragment #1 (see below), there is preserved a section of string (apparently two interwoven strands) approximately 0.95 cm in length embedded in the letter-*bullā*; the frayed ends of the string emerge from the break at the top of fragment #1. Along the join between fragments #1 and #2 on the reverse and obverse emerge many long individual fibres of string. The frayed remnants of two small strings are also visible in the break on the right edge fragment (#3 and #4).

The impressions of the edges of the original folded document run latitudinally along the preserved top and bottom edges of the reverse.

Preservation

The letter-*bullā* is very poorly preserved, in four separate fragments (see the drawing Fig. 1.13). Two of the fragments (fragments #1 and #2) have been glued together. Fragment #1 constitutes the great bulk of the surviving letter-*bullā*. Fragment #2 is a small piece from the top of the letter-*bullā*. The other two fragments (fragments #3 and #4) have also been glued together but are not attached to fragments #1 and #2. Fragments #3 and #4 together constitute a large section the right edge and right side of the letter-*bullā*. The upper left corner of the letter-*bullā* is not preserved. In the photographs of the obverse and reverse of Sigill.Aram. II published by Driver (1954: pl. XXIII), fragments #3+#4 appear to be directly contiguous to fragments #1+#2. Moreover the lower part of the adversary's body seems to be visible in the photograph of the impression of the seal on the obverse.

Obverse

The obverse is in very fragmentary condition. There are several slivers of surface that apparently have been glued onto fragment #1 along the break with the right side fragment (fragments #3 and #4); in other places along this break the surface is destroyed. Another section of the surface of fragment #1 is fractured along the break on the upper left corner. There are two large cracks on fragment #1, the one running diagonally from the lower left to upper right, the other running horizontally from the break on the upper left all the way through fragment #1 and continuing onto to the right side (fragments #3 and #4). There are pitting and small cracks running along these cracks. There is a large streak of brownish discolouration on the top of fragments #1, #2, and #3. The preserved top edge of the obverse (fragment #2) also has the brownish discolouration. Traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions may be found along the bottom of the obverse. String and individual string fibres emerge along the break between fragments #1 and #2.

Left Edge

Well preserved with the exception of the right half, which is destroyed.

Right Edge

Well preserved on right edge fragments #3 and #4.

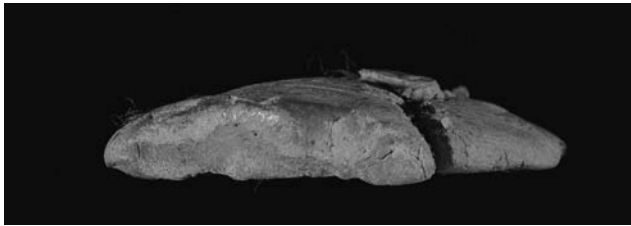
Upper Edge

Preserved on fragments #2 and #3. There are bands of brownish discolouration running along the latitudinal axis of the surface. The band at the bottom of the surface is darker in colour.



1.11. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. II, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Bottom Edge



1.12. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. II, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Well preserved. Traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions may be found at the left on this surface.

Reverse

Poorly preserved. The upper right corner is not preserved. A sliver of surface along this break at upper right is cracked away. Where the string(s) emerged at the top middle of the surface there is damage. Splitting and cracking of the surface occurs along all the breaks. Where fragment #2 is attached to fragment #1 there is a thick coating of glue. A thin, white film is found in patches over the whole of the reverse. In addition to the string preserved in the impressions of the three strings running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface, long individual fibres of string emerge along the break between fragments #1 and #2.

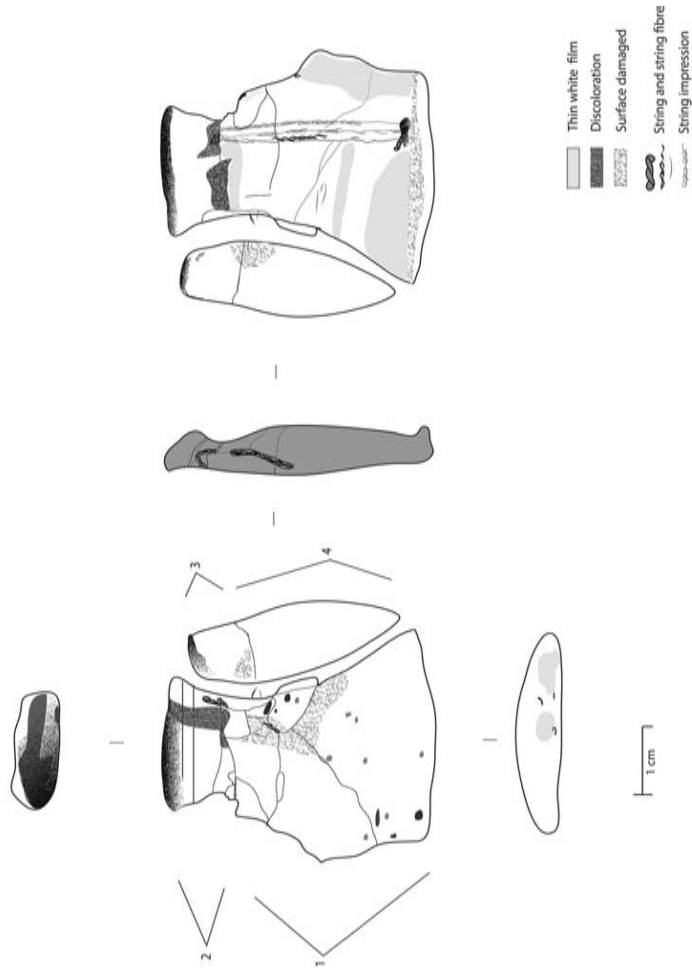
Shape

The letter-*bulla* is approximately rectangular in plan (only partially preserved), plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex; reverse is flat. Right and left edges are sharp and thin.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.80 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 4.10 cm



1.13. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bull*a Sigill.Aram. II. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.70 cm, tapering to 0.20 cm at right (at left not preserved)

Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.70 cm, tapering to 0.30 cm at right and 0.40 cm at left

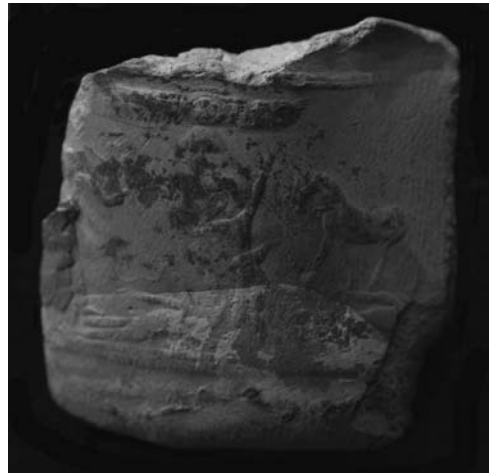
Clay

A very finely levigated clay, buff-coloured. There are a few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions. A small piece of unworked white stone is embedded in the clay, emerging from the break along the upper left corner of the letter-*bulla*. There is also what appears to be a small piece of straw emerging from the lower left corner of the obverse.

Sigill.Aram. III (Figs. 1.14–1.18, Pl. 3)

General Description

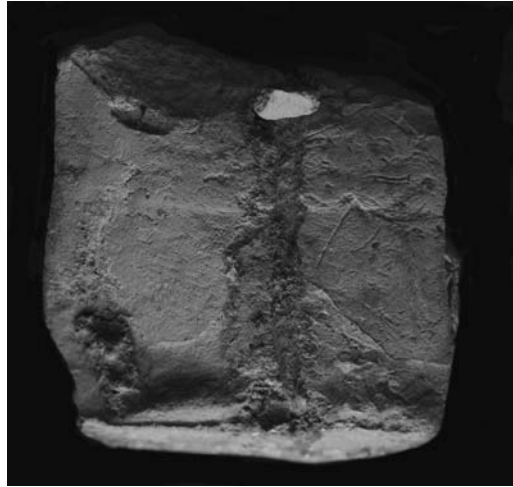
1.14. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. III, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression of the seal is fair. The rolling of the seal is partial, with the standing antagonist placed in the centre of the impression.

The reverse has impressions of one or two strings, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface. There are traces of the actual string emerging along the whole length of the string impressions. At the top of the string impressions, there emerge three strings. The ends of two of these

1.15. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. III, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



strings are frayed and extend away from the letter-*bullā* for some 0.15 cm. The end of the third string is embedded in a small patch of the letter-*bullā* which is unattached to the main body of the document. At the bottom of the string impression, there may emerge part of a knot of string.

The impressions of the edges of the original folded document run latitudinally along the bottom edge of the reverse.

Allen (2013: 31–2, fig. 3) appears to link Sigill.Aram. III with the leather document Pell.Aram. XIII (A6.11).²⁴ This document is a letter from Aršāma to Nakhtōr, [Kenza]sirma, and his colleagues [the account]ants, who are in Egypt. It concerns a request from Peṭosiri the plenipotentiary (*wršbr*), who had earlier written to Aršāma, concerning restitution of family property lost during a time of unrest in Egypt.

Preservation

A small sliver of the surface of the obverse along the left edge, now brown in colour, has been glued back to the main body of the surviving letter-*bullā*. A small section of the right edge has also been glued back to the main body of the letter-

²⁴ The two documents, Sigill.Aram. III and Pell.Aram. XIII (A6.11), are illustrated together in Allen 2013: fig. 3, suggesting perhaps that they belong together (although Allen does not specifically state the linkage in the caption to the figure). Allen (2013: 32) also states: ‘The sealed format of some letters suggests some variations from that of one seal per letter; for example, Arshama’s response to a petition from his servant’s son for the restitution of a farm [sc. A6.11] shows an odd combination of vertical lacunae that may have resulted from a double sealing (Figure 3).’ Allen (2013: 32 n. 41) does, however, note that the exact manner in which Pell.Aram. XIII (A6.11) was folded and sealed is unclear.

bullae. Most of the upper edge and the lower right corner of the letter-*bullae* are destroyed. As noted above, the end of a string emerging from the top of the reverse is embedded in a small patch of the letter-*bullae* which is unattached to the main body of the document. This small patch apparently is from the upper edge of the document.

Obverse

The lower right corner and upper edge of this surface are destroyed. The lower third of the surface is covered in the yellow/whitish residue. Much of the figural imagery above the area covered in the yellow/white residue carries brownish discolouration. The diffuse white film occurs on the right half of the surface.

Left Edge

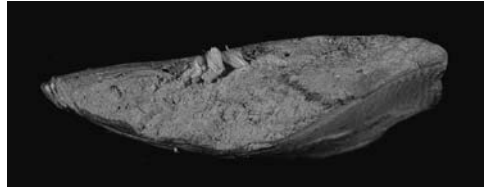
Well preserved with the exception of the left corner, which is destroyed.

Right Edge

A section on the right edge has been glued back to the main body of the letter-*bullae*. The left half of the edge is destroyed.

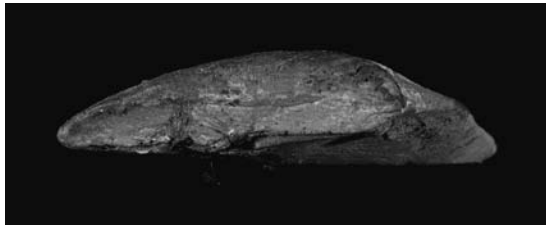
Upper Edge

1.16. Letter-*bullae* Sigill.Aram. III, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Mostly destroyed except for a small section at far left.

Bottom Edge



1.17. Letter-*bullae* Sigill.Aram. III, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Well preserved. Most of the surface is covered in the yellow/whitish residue, a continuation of the residue found on the obverse and reverse.

Reverse

Well preserved except for the upper edge, which is broken and along which there is much chipping, and the lower left corner, which is destroyed. The lower third of the surface is covered in the yellow/whitish residue, a continuation of the residue found on the obverse and bottom edge. A patch of a thick, brown substance lies over this residue at the bottom left corner of the surface. Similar patches of a thick, brown substance fill part of the string impression and the string hole(s) at the bottom of the string impression. This substance may be remnants of leather from the letter or staining from the leather bag. The brownish discolouration runs along the left edge of the string impression and along the right edge of the surface. The diffuse white film occurs on the left half of the surface.



1.18. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. III. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Shape

The letter-*bulla* is approximately square in plan (the upper edge of the document is mostly destroyed), plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly

irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex; reverse is flat. The right and left edges are sharp and thin.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.70 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 3.80 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.95 cm, tapering to 0.25 cm at right and 0.30 cm at left

Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.80 cm, tapering to 0.40 cm at right and 0.30 cm at left

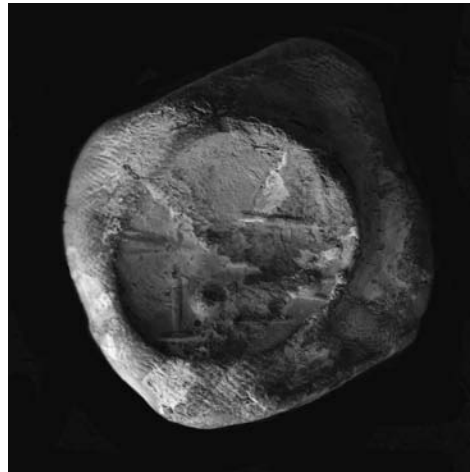
Clay

A very finely levigated clay, buff-coloured. There are a few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions.

Sigill.Aram. IV (Figs. 1.19–1.24, Pl. 4)

General Description

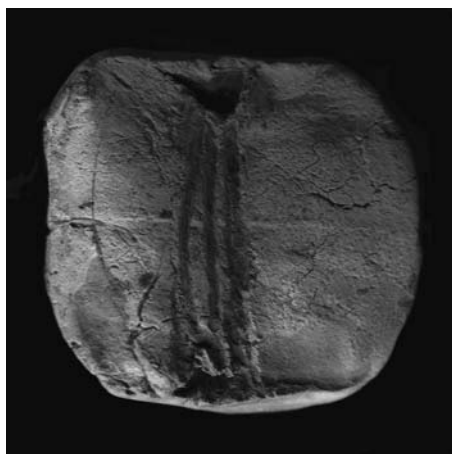
1.19. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. IV, obverse, carrying an impression of the stamp seal. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



The obverse carries one impression of the stamp seal (Figs. 1.23–1.24), carefully placed in the middle of the surface. The seal appears to have had a circular face, although the impression on Sigill.Aram. IV is elongated along its

diagonal axis lower left to upper right.²⁵ There is no indication of a border around the seal design or a mount around the seal face. The seal face (measuring 2.30 cm at its greatest width and 2.15 cm at its greatest height) was markedly convex. The impression of the seal design is very poor, although the edge of the seal is complete and sharp.

Since we are unable to read the specifics of the scene on the stamp seal (cf. n. 26), we cannot determine its proper orientation on internal grounds. On the other seven letter-*bullae* the vertical axis of the figural imagery on the obverse aligns with the string and/or string impressions running vertically on the reverse and the horizontal axis of the imagery aligns with the impressions of the folded leather document running horizontally across the reverse. We have oriented the drawing of the stamp seal according to the same pattern.²⁶



1.20. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. IV, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The reverse of the letter-*bulla* carries deep impressions of three strings, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface, and two large string holes, the one emerging near the middle of the lower edge of reverse, on axis with the string impressions, the other emerging near the middle of the top edge of the reverse, also on axis with the string impressions. A large strand of

²⁵ During the sealing process the seal user, while pressing the seal, may have pushed the wet clay down with the other hand on the right edge of the letter-*bulla* where finger/cloth prints appear more defined.

²⁶ For description of what remains of the image on the stamp seal and further discussion of its character, see Garrison & Kaptan ii 167–71. The image is apparently solely composed of abstract geometric elements, and interpretation is complicated by the possibility that we are dealing with an heirloom seal and/or a seal that has been recut. One approach is to see the design as a very poorly preserved and/or reworked version of a Late Babylonian worship scene, a scene type that occurs commonly in the Achaemenid period in Iran and Babylonia and is often executed in a very abstract style of carving. It is misleading to suggest, however, that what is preserved of the design can actually be read as showing such a scene.

string (or straw?) is embedded on the right of the obverse and the right of the reverse. This strand seems too large to be an inclusion in the clay (i.e. straw), and we assume that it may be part of the original string that secured the document. If this is correct, the string is very different from the strings used in the letter-*bullae* associated with the cylinder seal.

The impressions of the edges of the original folded document run latitudinally along the top and bottom edges of the reverse. There is also a raised edge, seemingly marking another edge/crease(?) of the folded leather document, that runs latitudinally across the middle of the reverse for its entire width.²⁷

Preservation

The letter-*bulla* is intact and overall well preserved, although, as noted, it is very difficult to read the impression of the seal. The surviving imagery is very faint and the surface carries a thick coating of yellow/white residue.

Obverse

The greater part of the obverse is covered in a thick coating of the yellow/white residue. The residue is particularly thick on the middle and right half of the seal impression, making image retrieval very difficult. The raised edges of the seal impression are brown in colour, perhaps representing wear. There appear to be fingerprints and/or cloth impressions surrounding the circumference of the seal impression.

Left Edge

Well preserved.

Right Edge

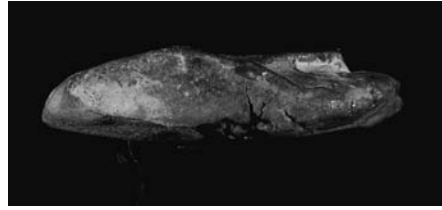
Well preserved.

Upper Edge

Well preserved. There are two thin cracks emerging from the string hole on the reverse.

²⁷ As noted (above n. 13), Lindsay Allen (pers. comm.) suggests that Sigill.Aram. IV secured the leather document Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15). Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15) is one of three Bodleian letters (including also Pell.Aram. V (A6.14) and Pell.Aram. X (A6.16)) in which Aršāma is not the addressor. In Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15), one Virafša testily writes to Aršāma's agent in Egypt, Nakht̥or, concerning various wrongs that (he charges) Nakht̥or has committed against him. If Sigill.Aram. IV in fact pairs with Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15), the stamp seal would apparently be linked with Virafša, who composed the letter in Babylon: see Garrison & Kaptan ii 170–1 for further remarks on this. While it would appear to make sense to connect Sigill.Aram. IV and its stamp seal with one of the three letters not written by Aršāma, it should be acknowledged that selecting one of them in particular is challenging.

1.21. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. IV, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

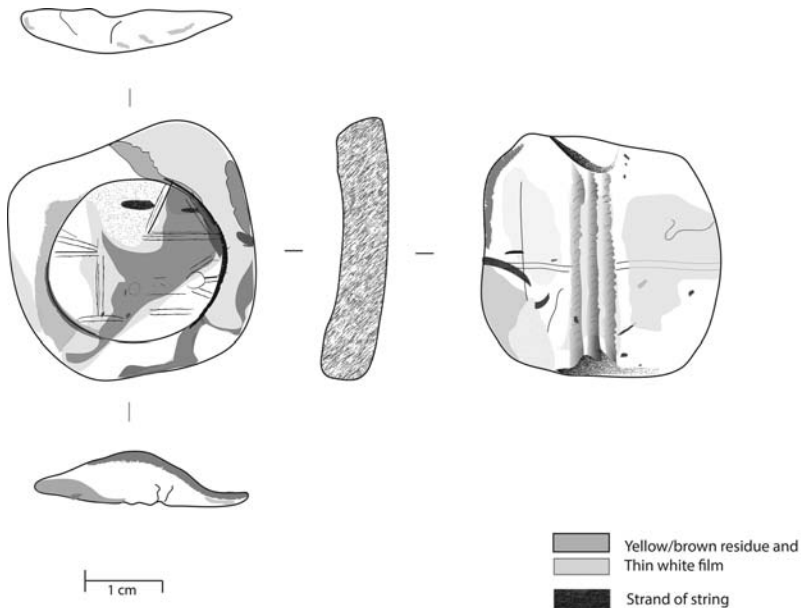


Bottom Edge

1.22. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. IV, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Well preserved. The left half of the surface is covered in the same yellow/white residue that is found on the obverse. Near the middle of the surface are two thin cracks that in fact emerge from the string hole on the reverse. A third thin crack is on the right half of the surface.



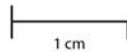
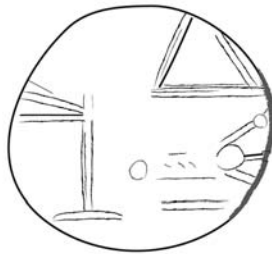
1.23. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. IV. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Reverse

Well preserved. The lower left corner of the surface is covered in the same yellow/white residue that is found on the obverse and bottom edge. The remainder of the surface is covered in the thin, diffuse white film. Thin cracks are found throughout the surface. Both string holes are quite large, suggesting that some damage/wear has occurred.

Shape

The letter-*bulla* is approximately square in plan, plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex, except where the stamp seal has been applied; the reverse is flat. The right and left edges are sharp and thin.



1.24. Line drawing of the stamp seal on letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. IV. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.30 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 3.15 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.55 cm, tapering to 0.15 cm at right and 0.30 cm at left

Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.70 cm, tapering to 0.30 cm at right and 0.45 cm at left

Clay

A very finely levigated clay, grey-coloured. There are a few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions.

Sigill.Aram. V (Figs. 1.25–1.30, Pl. 5)

General Description

1.25. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. V, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression of the seal is excellent, and we include two photographs of the surface (Figs. 1.25–1.26) under different lighting.²⁸ The rolling of the seal is partial, with the space between the protagonist and his standing adversary placed in the centre of the impression. This rolling preserves the best impression of the inscription.

The reverse has a large string, still intact and embedded in the clay, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface. The string is made from three strands that are interwoven. The ends have been cut and are now frayed. Those at the bottom extend away from the letter-*bullā* for approximately 0.40 cm; those at the top for approximately 0.20 cm. Below the bottom ends of the string, the two ends of another string(s) emerge from the clay. This second string(s) apparently runs underneath the first string through the body of the letter-*bullā* longitudinally. The impression of what appears to be another string runs along the bottom edge of the reverse latitudinally. A string in this position is difficult to understand, and the impression may thus represent the edge of the original leather document rather than a string. If so, it is exceptionally deep.

A small section of the impression of the edge of the original folded document runs latitudinally along the preserved top edge of the reverse.

²⁸ Boardman (2000: 165, fig. 5.21) published a photograph of this impression of the seal.



1.26. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. V, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



1.27. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. V, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Preservation

The letter-*bulla* is in three fragments, now glued together. Two fragments are small pieces of the folded upper edge of the document; the third fragment is the great bulk of the surviving document. Much of the upper, bottom, right, and left edges is destroyed.

Obverse

There is damage along the top edge of the surface, where the two small fragments of the folded upper edge of the document have been glued onto the large one. Two or three small slivers of the surface of the obverse have been re-attached to the letter-*bullae* along the edge of this break. All other edges of the surface are also worn and damaged. There is a small triangular-shaped black item (an inclusion in the clay?) on the lower right corner of the surface. The preserved part of the top edge of the surface has the brownish discolouration. On the left half of the obverse, there are patches of the diffuse white film. On the right half of the obverse, there are traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions.

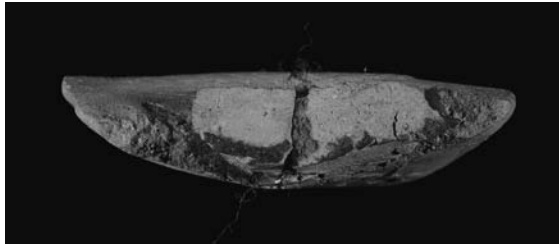
Left Edge

Worn and damaged.

Right Edge

There is a large chip in the middle of this edge.

Upper Edge



1.28. Letter-*bullae* Sigill.Aram. V, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Two fragments of the middle of the upper edge are glued together; they are poorly preserved.

Bottom Edge

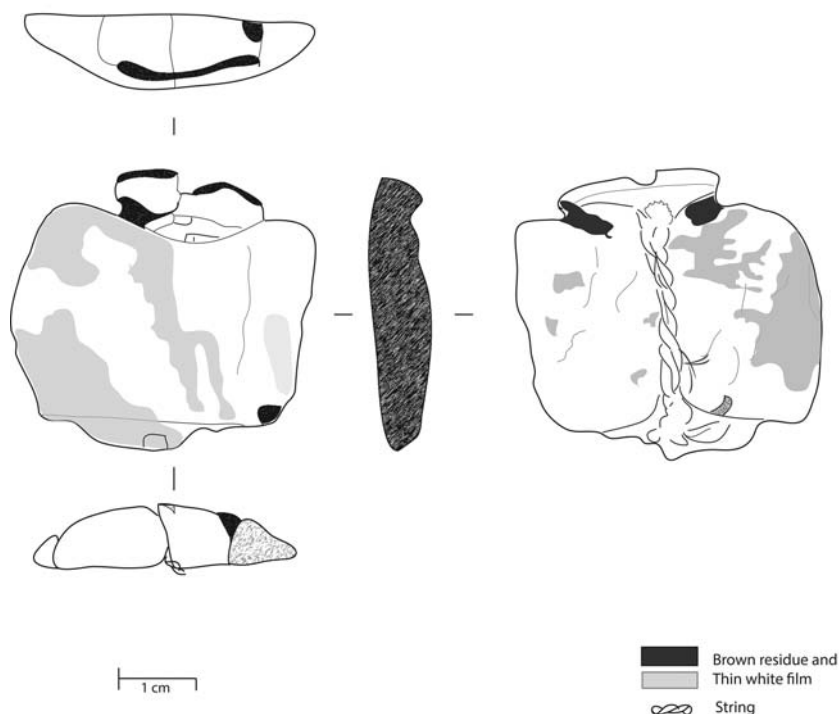


1.29. Letter-*bullae* Sigill.Aram. V, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Only a segment of the middle of the edge is preserved. There are traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions covering the whole of the preserved surface.

Reverse

There is damage along the top edge of the surface, where the two small fragments of the folded top edge of the document have been glued onto the main body. All other edges of the surface are also worn and damaged. There are small, thin cracks throughout the surface. As on the obverse, there are patches of the diffuse white film throughout the reverse.



1.30. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bull*a Sigill.Aram. V. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Shape

The letter-*bull*a is approximately rectangular in plan, plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex; the reverse is flat. The right and left edges are sharp and thin.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 4.00 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 3.70 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.70 cm, the ends are not preserved

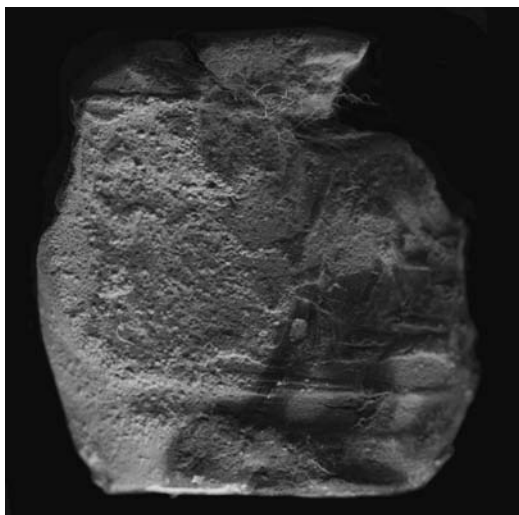
Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.75 cm, the ends are not preserved

Clay

A very finely levigated clay, buff-coloured. There are a very few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions. The clay of this particular letter-*bulla* is by far the finest in quality of the group.

Sigill.Aram. VI (Figs. 1.31–1.35, Pl. 6)General Description

1.31. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. VI, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression is very poor. The rolling of the seal is partial, with the winged symbol placed in the centre of impression.

The reverse has deep impressions of two or three strings, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface, and two small string holes, the one emerging near the middle of lower edge of the reverse, slightly to the



1.32. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. VI, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

left of the axis of the string impressions, the other emerging near the middle of the top edge of the reverse, slightly to the right of the axis of the string impressions. Immediately to the left of this upper string hole, a string emerges from the clay. The end of the string is frayed and has several long individual fibres. On the obverse, other long individual fibres of the string, apparently connected to the string emerging from the top of the reverse, emerge from under the small fragment of the folded upper edge that has been glued to the main body of the surviving document.

The impressions of the edges of the original folded document run latitudinally along the preserved top and bottom edges of the reverse.

Preservation

The letter-*bulla* is in two fragments, now glued together; the one fragment is the great bulk of the surviving letter-*bulla*; the other is a small section of the folded upper edge of the document. The right half of the upper edge and the whole of the right edge are destroyed. The left half of the left edge is also destroyed.

Obverse

The overall quality of the surface is very poor; the left half of the surface is heavily abraded. There is damage to the top edge of the surface where the small fragment of the folded upper edge of the document has been re-attached. The right half of the obverse has streaks of brownish discolouration; the central parts of these streaks of brownish discolouration are thicker and darker. At the far right edge of the surface, a small patch of thick orange residue rests over the dark brownish

discolouration. The same brownish discolouration occurs on the bottom and preserved top edge of the surface. There may be traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions along the lower left corner of the surface. The obverse was evidently in a much better state of preservation at the time of the photograph published by Driver (1954: pl. XXIII). Today the left side of the obverse is greatly abraded, but in Driver's photograph the surface appears smooth, and one can very clearly see the body of the protagonist and details of his facial features and garment.

Left Edge

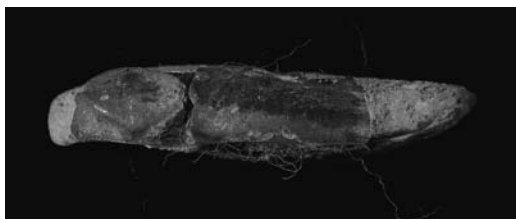
Only the right half of the edge is preserved.

Right Edge

Destroyed.

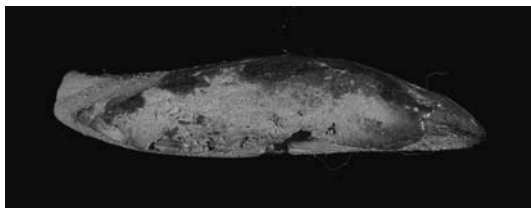
Upper Edge

1.33. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VI, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Only the small fragment of the folded upper edge that has been re-joined to the main body of the surviving document is preserved. The left and right corners of the upper edge are not preserved. The preserved surface is covered in the same brownish discolouration as occurs on the obverse.

Bottom Edge



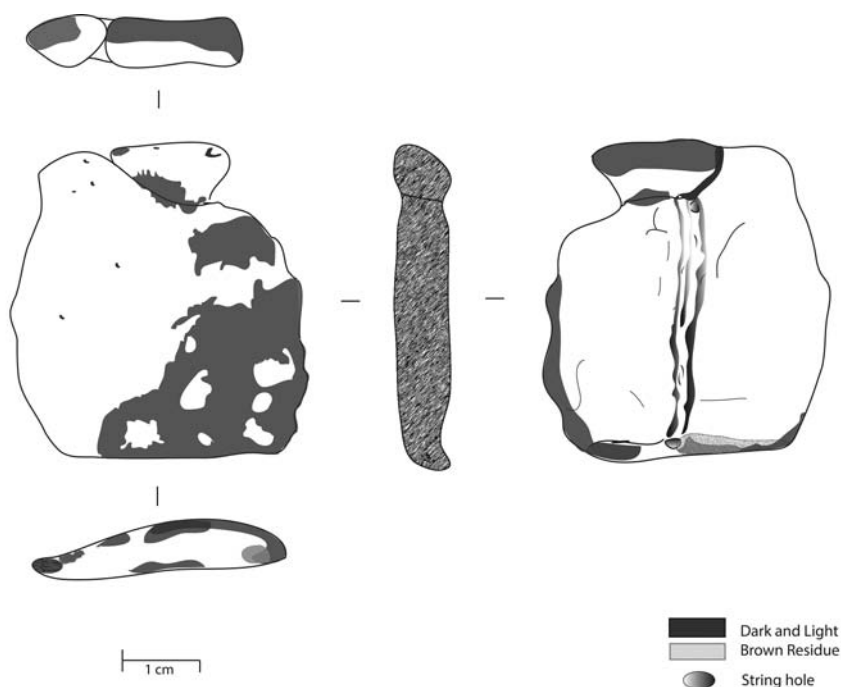
1.34. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VI, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Well preserved, except for the edge contiguous with the reverse, which is damaged (this edge was apparently originally a fold of clay covering the leather

document). The preserved edges of this surface continue the brownish discolouration found on the obverse. On the damaged edge of the surface, there is a small, curved piece of string (or straw?) emerging from the body of the letter-*bull*a. This string appears to be the same material and configuration as the string embedded on the obverse and reverse of Sigill.Aram. IV. There we speculated that the item was part of the original string and not simply a straw inclusion in the clay. Here the situation is less clear, since the item is some 0.70 cm removed from the impressions of the strings on the reverse. Nevertheless, the item does appear to run along the longitudinal axis of the letter-*bull*a and thus may indeed be a remnant of the original string.²⁹

Reverse

The overall quality of the surface is very poor, exhibiting the same abrasion as the left half of the obverse. All edges of this surface are damaged. There is some cracking of the surface at the top where the small fragment of the folded upper



1.35. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bull*a Sigill.Aram. VI. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

²⁹ Perhaps confirming this observation is the fact that the impressions of the string running along the longitudinal axis of the reverse appear to be thin and consist of just one strand (unlike on the other documents, where the string is thick and has two or three strands).

edge of the document has been re-attached to the main body. As with the obverse (see above, p. 33), the photograph of the reverse of Sigill.Aram. VI in Driver (1954: pl. XXIII) shows that this surface was in a much better state of preservation at that time.

Shape

The letter-*bullā* is approximately rectangular in plan, plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex; reverse is flat. Right and left edges are sharp and thin. This is the only document of the group where the surviving height is greater than the width.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.80 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 4.05 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.65 cm, the ends are not preserved

Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.70 cm, tapering to 0.30 cm at right and 0.30 cm at left

Clay

A coarse clay, buff-coloured. There are a few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions. All surfaces are rough and abraded.

Sigill.Aram. VII (Figs. 1.36–1.40, Pl. 7)

General Description

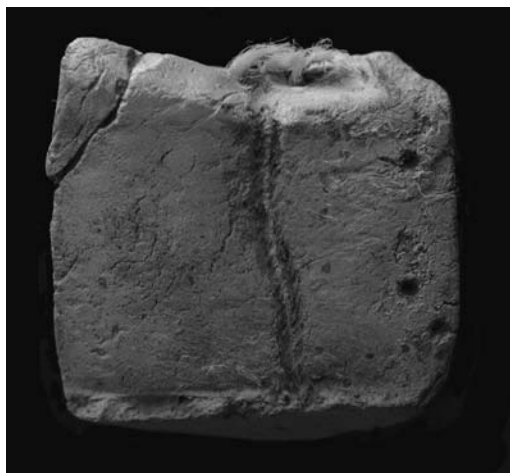
The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression is excellent. The rolling of the seal is partial, with the head of the horse to right of the combat group placed in the centre of the impression.

The reverse has impressions of two strings, running longitudinally along the length of the middle of the surface and continuing for a short distance onto the preserved upper edge of the document. Unlike the other letter-*bullae*, where the impressions of the strings run straight, the impressions of the strings here have an elongated S-shaped track. Within the string impressions are embedded a continuous line of fragments of strands from the string. At the bottom of the impressions of the string, there emerge from the clay the ends of two actual strings, placed side by side. Approximately 0.10 cm to the left of the left string, there emerges from the clay a short loop of string, consisting perhaps of two threads (still embedded in the clay). Above this loop of string, there are

1.36. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram.
VII, obverse, carrying an
impression of the seal of Aršāma.
Now in the Bodleian Library,
Oxford. Photograph courtesy of
the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



1.37. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram.
VII, reverse. Now in the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Photograph courtesy of the
Bodleian Library, Oxford.



embedded in the surface of the clay individual fibres of the string. There may be the end of yet another string emerging from the middle of the bottom edge. At the top of the impressions of the string, on the preserved upper edge, there emerge from the clay the frayed ends of two large strings. Approximately 0.10 cm to the right of the right string, still on the upper edge, there emerges from the clay the frayed end of another string. These three string-ends on the upper edge extend out from the surface and measure 0.30–0.70 cm in length. Three large circular holes run along the right edge on the reverse, roughly aligned vertically. The upper and middle holes are spaced approximately 1.00 cm apart. The lower hole lies approximately 0.15 cm from the middle hole and is placed closer to the right edge of the reverse. These holes appear to be deliberate;

their size and shape suggest string holes, but their placement seems highly irregular.³⁰

Running along the right edge of the obverse, there are very faint traces of very thin threads of string (or straw?).

The impression of the edge of the original folded document runs latitudinally along the bottom edge of the reverse.

Preservation

The letter-*bulla* is in two fragments, now glued together; the one fragment is the great bulk of the surviving document; the other is a small fragment of the upper right corner of the obverse.³¹ The top edge of the document is mostly destroyed. Otherwise, the surviving letter-*bulla* is in excellent condition.

Obverse

There is damage along the top edge of the surface and along the break in the upper right corner where the two fragments of the letter-*bulla* have been re-attached. A segment of the surface on the obverse has broken away where the two fragments have been re-joined. There is a small chip on the bottom edge. There is a small patch of the dark brown discolouration on the lower right corner of the surface; another smaller patch of the same dark brown discolouration occurs on the small fragment of the upper right corner. High points in the relief of the seal impression carry a light brownish discolouration, as does the damaged upper edge. The bottom edge of the surface is worn. There are very thin and short cracks running along the length of the right edge. There are three or four very thin cracks on the upper left corner; these contain individual string fibres. There may be traces of fingerprints and/or cloth impressions along the right edge of the surface.

Left Edge

Well preserved, with some thin cracks.

Right Edge

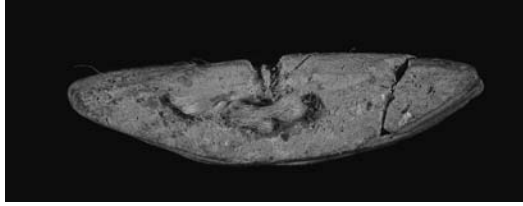
Well preserved, with some thin cracks.

Upper Edge

Partially destroyed.

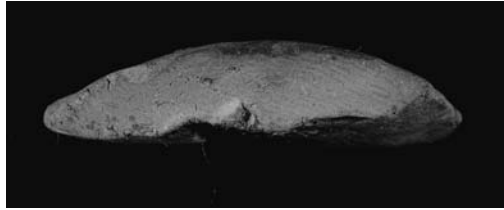
³⁰ Less likely, these holes may be impressions left from an object/irregularity on the back of the original folded leather document.

³¹ The small fragment of the upper right corner of the letter-*bulla* that has been glued onto the main body of the letter-*bulla* carries, on the obverse, the only evidence for the two letters *resh* and *shin* in the first line of the inscription.



1.38. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. VII, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Bottom Edge



1.39. Letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. VII, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Well preserved, except for a small chip. The edge of this surface contiguous with the obverse carries a light brownish discolouration.

Reverse

The overall quality of the surface is good. There is some wear and small chips along all edges of this surface, and small cracks occur throughout. There are small patches of brownish discolouration, some slightly darker than others, on the right half of the surface. There is wear, or more light brownish discolouration, in the middle of the left half of the surface.

Shape

The letter-*bulla* is approximately square in plan, plano-convex in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The obverse is convex; the reverse is flat. Right and left edges are sharp and thin.

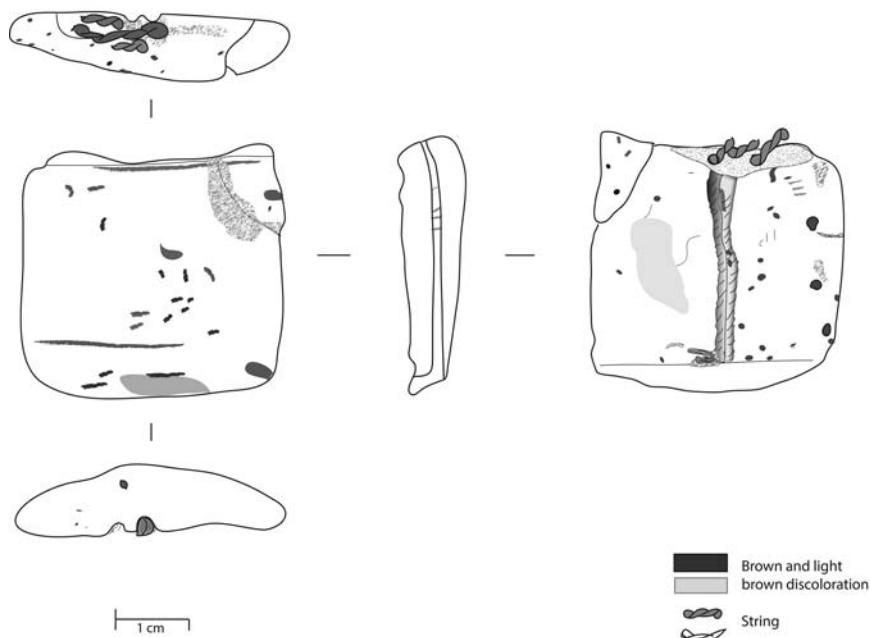
Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.60 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 3.40 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.90 cm, tapering to 0.30 cm at right and 0.20 cm at left

Bottom edge: greatest thickness in middle: 0.70 cm, tapering to 0.20 cm at right and 0.30 cm at left



1.40. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VII. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Clay

A very finely levigated clay, buff-coloured. There are a very few scattered reddish sand-silt sized inclusions.

Sigill.Aram. VIII (Figs. 1.41–1.47, Pl. 8)

General Description

The obverse carries one impression of the seal of Aršāma (PFS 2899*). The impression of the seal is excellent. The rolling of the seal is partial, with the winged symbol placed in the centre of the impression.

The configuration of the string on the reverse of the document is unique in the surviving dossier. Sections of five strings are preserved, emerging from four

1.41. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

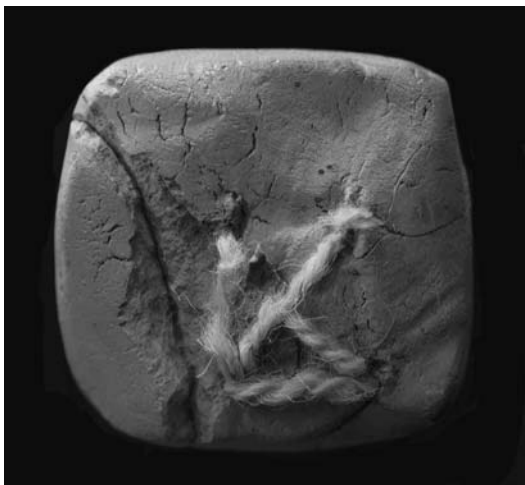


1.42. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, obverse, carrying an impression of the seal of Aršāma. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



holes on the reverse (identified on our drawing as loci #1–4); these four holes are configured as constituting the corners of a square. It is unclear how many different strings these five string sections represent.³² There appear originally to have been sections of six strings that emerged from these four separate holes, the strings configured so as to form a ‘square’ within which there was an ‘X’. Each string section consists of two interwoven strands.

³² In all likelihood, we are dealing with one contiguous length of string that has been interlaced throughout the document; for purposes of description, however, we shall speak of ‘sections’ of string.



1.43. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, reverse. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The first string section emerges from the hole in the middle left of the reverse (locus #1) and runs downwards vertically to re-enter the document at lower left (locus #2). A second string section emerges from locus #2 and runs horizontally to the right to re-enter the document at lower right (locus #3). As so configured, these two string sections thus make a right angle and constitute the lower left corner of the 'square'. A third string section emerges from locus #2 to run diagonally upwards to the right to re-enter the document at middle right (locus #4). A fourth string section emerges from locus #3 (at lower right) to run diagonally upwards to the left, originally apparently to cross the third string section and re-enter the document in the hole at middle left (locus #1). This fourth string section is cut, however, just as it reaches the third string section. As so configured, string sections three and four would have originally crossed to form an 'X' within the 'square'. The end of a fifth string section emerges from locus #4 (at middle right). This string also has been cut, but apparently it would have run across horizontally to the left to re-enter the document at the hole at middle left (locus #1); there is a faint impression in the clay for a string along this axis. One assumes that there would have been yet another section of string that would have run between the holes at right (loci #3 and #4) to close off the 'square'; indeed, there is a faint impression for a string in the clay along this axis.

Rather remarkably, there appears to be a small scrap of leather contained within and under the strings forming the 'X' in the 'square' (see Fig. 1.44). It measures approximately 0.60 cm at its greatest W and 1.40 cm at its greatest H. It extends outwards slightly from below the third string section.



1.44. Detail of letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, reverse, showing the string and leather fragment (scale 3:1). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

How, exactly, we are to understand the relationships between the configuration of the string, the shape of the letter-*bullā*, and the partial leather(?) fragment is unclear. What is clear is that this letter-*bullā* is very different in shape and string configuration from the other seven letter-*bullae*. It may be that the letter-*bullā* secured a small, thin document that had been folded and laid longitudinally across the reverse of the letter-*bullā* to be secured by the strings. Allen (2013: 27, 29–30, fig. 2) has suggested that Sigill.Aram. VIII was in fact attached in some manner to Pell.Aram. VIII (A6.9). Pell.Aram. VIII is the famous travel ration for Nakhtḥor, the agent of Aršāma in Egypt. As an authorization for a travel ration, the document is an ‘open letter’ (rather than a folded, tied, and sealed document), intended to be accessed whenever needed to draw travel rations.³³ Indeed, unlike the other surviving intact leather documents associated with Aršāma in the Bodleian, Pell.Aram. VIII shows no horizontal folds, has a larger than normal margin on the inside face at right, and carries no address on the outside.³⁴ How, exactly, the letter *bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII was in fact attached to Pell.Aram. VIII (or some other document) is unclear.³⁵

³³ In the Fortification archive such travel authorizations are called a *halmi*: see the discussion in Henkelman ii 196–9, 218–23.

³⁴ Allen (2013: 29–30) writes: the ‘vertical lacunae also do not fall into the mirrored divisions of a vertically folded closed letter, suggesting that it was never tied firmly shut with a sealing; the vertical points of wear and compressed creases instead increase towards one side, suggesting the “inner” end of the roll’. One wonders whether the vertical points of wear could represent folds; thus, the letter would have been folded only vertically (but multiple times).

³⁵ Allen (2013: 30) suggests that the ‘smooth, blank quarter at the open end of the text’ could have served to cover the letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, which she describes as a ‘tablet-like “tog-

Preservation

The letter-*bullā* is in two fragments, now glued together; the one fragment is the great bulk of the surviving document; the other is a substantial segment constituting the right edge and lower right corner of the document. The letter-*bullā* overall is well preserved.

Obverse

There is damage along the break between the two fragments of the document; a small chip at the top of the break and a large one at the bottom are particularly disfiguring. There are slight traces of patches of light brownish discolouration along the right edge of the surface, on the upper left corner, the lower left corner, and on some of the raised relief of the figural imagery.

Left Edge

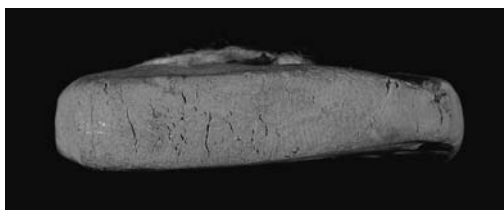
Well preserved, with some thin cracks.

Right Edge

Well preserved, with some thin cracks.

Upper Edge

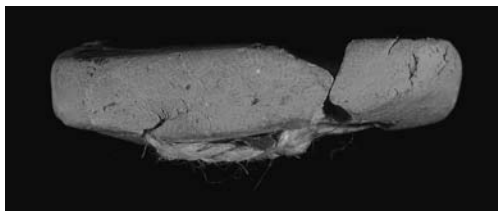
1.45. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, upper edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Well preserved, with some thin cracks.

Bottom Edge

1.46. Letter-*bullā* Sigill.Aram. VIII, bottom edge. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

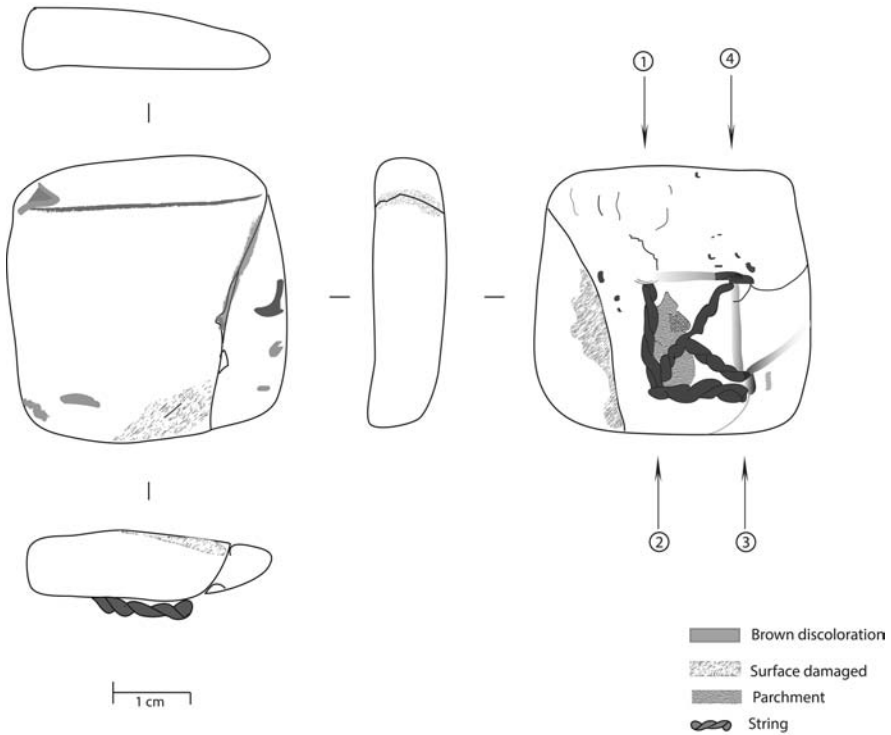


gle”’. This ‘toggle’ then, she suggests, was somehow attached (loosely? by a strap of leather?) to the leather document via its intricate string-work on the reverse. She describes the ‘tablet-like toggle’ as an ‘object thick enough to withstand repeated handling’.

Well preserved, except for a large chip along the break between the main body of the letter-*bulla* and the right edge fragment. There may be traces of finger-prints and/or cloth impressions on the middle of the surface.

Reverse

There is much damage along the break between the main body of the letter-*bulla* and right edge fragment. There are small cracks that appear throughout the surface.



1.47. Line drawing of all surfaces of the letter-*bulla* Sigill.Aram. VIII. Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Drawing by D. Kaptan.

Shape

The letter-*bulla* is approximately square in plan, cubic in shape, the dimensions slightly irregular along all axes. The configuration of this letter-*bulla* is unique among the surviving Aršāma dossier.

Measurements

Obverse/reverse greatest W: 3.70 cm

Obverse/reverse greatest H: 3.60 cm

Upper edge: greatest thickness 0.80 cm

Bottom edge: greatest thickness 0.75 cm

Clay

A very finely levigated clay, buff-coloured. There are hardly any inclusions to be seen. This letter-*bullā* is one of the finest in quality of the group.

The Seal of Prince Aršāma

From Persepolis to Oxford

Mark B. Garrison and Wouter F. M. Henkelman

1. INTRODUCTION

The Aramaic correspondence of the Achaemenid prince and satrap Aršāma (Aram. *’ršm*) preserved in the Bodleian Library has long been recognized as an exceptional source for the study of Achaemenid satrapal administration and the dealings of an Achaemenid satrap. The Aršāma in question was stationed in Egypt sometime during the second half of the fifth century (cf. §2.1 below); his letters provide crucial insights into the activities and economic interests of the

The authors wish to express their gratitude to various individuals who have facilitated the research for this publication. John Ma, then at Oxford, kindly invited us to study the letter-*bullae* and other materials in the Aršāma collection in the Bodleian Library. He also organized the production of high quality imaging of the letter-*bullae* reproduced in this publication (Garrison & Kaptan ii Figs. 1.4–47, Pls. 1–8). The Bodleian Library generously gave its permission to publish photographs of the letter-*bullae*. At Chicago, Helen MacDonald, registrar at the Oriental Institute Museum, facilitated Garrison’s viewing of two clay labels from the Treasury (PT4 980, PT4 1021) and their photography; Susanne Paulus, Tablet Collection Curator at the Oriental Institute, kindly arranged for Garrison’s study of PT 20 (A23242) and PT 26 (A23302) from the Treasury. The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project made its resources available to produce high-resolution images of all the clay documents illustrated in this study with the exception of the clay labels PT6 147, PT6 62, and PT6 34 (Fig. 2.40) from the Treasury, for the image of which we thank the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. We thank the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago also for providing Figs. 2.47 and 2.54. Permission to publish documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive is by courtesy of the director of the Oriental Institute, Christopher Woods, to whom we are very grateful. Collated line drawings of Persepolitan seals are all by Garrison, with the exception of PFS 2106* and PFUTS 0230*, which are both drawn by Christina Chandler, to whom we extend many thanks. Readings of the Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions on seals are courtesy of Annalisa Azzoni, Christina Chandler, and Matthew W. Stolper. All images (drawings and photographs) of Persepolitan seals are at a scale of approximately 1.5:1. Elamite texts cited in transliteration have all been collated by Henkelman. Images of some of the cited unpublished documents are available online through the platforms Achemenet (achemenet.com), InscriptiFact (inscriptifact.com), and OCHRE (ochre.lib.uchicago.edu). Preliminary draft editions of some Elamite documents are also available through OCHRE.

topmost elites, the imperial footprint in the satrapies, and the role of local officials during the middle period of the empire.

Twenty-six Aramaic letters, written in ink on leather, constitute the correspondence in strict sense.¹ They are part of a larger batch of materials collectively acquired in 1933 and reported to have come from somewhere in Egypt, although no specific information on the find circumstances survives.²

The letters, all undated, are for the most part addressed by Aršāma, writing to various interlocutors in Egypt. Prominent among these is a certain *Rtavanta- (*rtwnt*), a high placed Persian associate of Aršāma. Other letters are addressed to Aršāma's estate personnel, notably his steward Nakhthor, authorizing or demanding various operations. The correspondence also includes the famous travel authorization (TADAE A6.9), wherein Aršāma orders daily travel rations for Nakhthor and thirteen other individuals on their way to Egypt (most recent analyses: Dalley 2014, Tuplin i 147–79, Henkelman ii esp. 218–23). This and a few other documents suggest that Aršāma himself was residing outside Egypt at the time of writing; accordingly, it is often assumed that this is true for the whole correspondence (see §2.1).

The Aršāma materials acquired by the Bodleian Library additionally include leather pouches and clay letter-*bullae*. Although the labels on the glass cases holding the pouch fragments treat them as belonging to a single artefact, they unquestionably belong to *two* distinct items. Whereas the second pouch is poorly preserved, the first has retained its rectangular shape, delicate leather stitching, and closing strap. On first impression, it would seem to have been made for documents of the size of the (folded) Aramaic letters. It should be noted, however, that the documents were (no longer) in the pouches at the time the materials were purchased in Egypt.³

For the reasons rehearsed by Garrison & Kaptan ii 1 n. 2, to avoid confusion, we shall refer to the clay documents as letter-*bullae*. There are eight of these in the

¹ See Tuplin iii 3–72, which locates the Bodleian letters in the context of the wider dossier of Aršāma-related material. There are fourteen mostly well-preserved (TADAE A6.3–A6.13) and twelve fragmentary letters (D6.3–D6.14), in Aramaic on leather. Twelve are from Aršāma (A6.3–13, D6.8), one is restored as such (D6.7), and the rest are closely associated by provenance, prosopography and subject-matter (Tuplin i 265–8). See Taylor i 19–49, Tuplin i 61–283. For the historical importance of the correspondence see e.g. Briant 2002: 364–5, 413–14, 456–63, 487, 602–5, 945, 973, and index s.v. Aršāma, Kuhrt 2007: 343–5, 720–2, 739–41, 816–17, 819–20, 823–4, and index s.v. Arshama (2).

² Allen i 12–18 (compare also Kahle 1949: 205–6, Driver 1954: 1) recounts what little is known of the acquisition of the leather documents. According to his own somewhat dubious claim, the documents were purchased by Ludwig Borchardt in 1933 in Egypt from an anonymous dealer. Borchardt moved the corpus out of Germany before 1938 (the year of his death); his widow held on to them in Switzerland until the curators of the Bodleian Library finally received the collection in 1945.

³ The observations cited here stem from a preliminary study of the leather pouches conducted by Lindsay Allen and Henkelman in the Bodleian Library in January 2011, jointly presented during the second Aršāma workshop in Oxford (29 January 2011).

Bodleian Aršāma collection. Seven letter-*bullae*, Sigill.Aram. I–III (Figs. 1.4, 1.9, and 1.14, Pls. 1–3) and V–VIII (Figs. 1.25–1.26, 1.31, 1.36, and 1.41–1.42, Pls. 5–8), are sealed with a large cylinder seal (Fig. 2.1) that carries an Aramaic inscription naming Aršāma; one letter-*bulla*, Sigill.Aram. IV (Fig. 1.19, Pl. 4 (above)), is sealed by a large stamp seal (Fig. 1.24), the impression of which is poorly preserved.⁴

Although the problematic background of the collection imposes no small degree of caution, there is no concrete reason to doubt that the clay letter-*bullae*, leather documents, and leather pouches belong together. The internal coherence of the collection is reinforced by the inscription on the cylinder seal, which includes the name of Aršāma (Figs. 1.25–1.26, 2.1, Pl. 5 (above)), impressed on seven of the letter-*bullae*. Although, as we will argue, the original proprietor of the seal was a different Aršāma, it is likely that he was a forebear of the Egyptian satrap.

Unlike the leather documents, the letter-*bullae* and the seals applied to them have received little attention, this despite the fact the cylinder seal is a virtuosic example of Achaemenid glyptic arts and was used by a prince of the royal house.⁵ That Aršāma uses the cylinder seal in his official function as satrap is also noteworthy. The seal remains today one of the few seals that can unambiguously be linked to an Achaemenid satrap.⁶

⁴ For discussion of the shapes and sizes of the letter *bullae*, see Garrison & Kaptan ii 9–45; for the stamp seal, see Garrison & Kaptan ii 22–6 and Garrison & Kaptan ii 167–71.

⁵ Boardman (2000: 165, fig. 5.21) illustrates a photograph of the impression of the seal of Aršāma on Sigill.Aram. V (Figs. 1.25–1.26, Pl. 5 (above)); Moorey (1978: 148, fig. 8) published a much-reproduced line drawing of the scene on the seal (without the inscription), presumably a drawing that he himself had made. Both authors say almost nothing about the imagery itself. Moorey remarked on the occurrence of both the winged symbol and the crescent in the scene; Boardman simply identified the seal as a ‘Persian cylinder’. Driver (1954: pl. 23) published (unlabelled) illustrations of all eight clay documents, both obverses and reverses, but did not point out that there were two different seals used on the documents. His characterization (Driver 1954: 2) of the seal image as that of ‘an ordinary Babylonian cylinder-seal’ seems quite striking; perhaps he had confused the cylinder seal with the stamp seal. Porten and Yardeni (1999: 230 (D14.6)) published a sketch drawing of the impression of the cylinder seal, with inscription (autograph copy by Yardeni), on Sigill.Aram. V (Figs. 1.25–1.26, Pl. 5), wrongly identified as ‘Sigill.Aram. VIII’.

⁶ See Garrison ii 245–53 concerning PFS 0233 and PFS 1480, which may be linked with the satraps Karkiš (Carmania (Kermān)) and Harbamišša (Areia) respectively. The most prestigious administrative centres outside of Persepolis and Susa (e.g. Ecbatana, Bactra, Arachōtos) have yielded some direct and indirect indications for imperial administrative archives (see Henkelman 2017a, esp. 113–49, 157–74), but as yet no certain satrapal seals are known from these places. A noteworthy case is presented by Aramaic document ADAB C2 from Achaemenid Bactria (illustrated in Naveh and Shaked 2012: 187), which was still folded, closed, and sealed when bought from the London art market around 2000. The seal impressed on its letter-*bulla* is a magnificent one (Garrison 2017a: 563–8), but it is not immediately clear from the contents of the document who impressed it. Hyland has argued that it may belong to a certain *Wšt’sp* (Vištāspa/Hystaspes). This *Wšt’sp* occurs in the text with the designation *krny*, which Hyland interprets as the Aramaic transcription of Old Iranian **kārana-*, better known in its Greek form, *κάρανος*, ‘army commander’ (Hyland 2013). Though not a satrapal seal in strict sense, we may therefore be dealing with a seal belonging to an important general or regional commander, in rank comparable with a satrap. For this claim to be fully viable, however, the contents of ADAB C2 require further study.



2.1. Collated line drawing of the seal of Aršama, PFS 2899*.

In and of itself, the seal used by Aršāma the satrap thus merits a more comprehensive analysis than heretofore provided. By a remarkable, indeed fortuitous, circumstance, the very seal used by the satrap Aršāma on the seven letter-*bullae* in the Bodleian Library has been identified on two unpublished Elamite documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive (henceforth PFA), a large administrative corpus reflecting an institutional economy centred on Pārsa/Persepolis and dating to the years 509–493.⁷ The relevant contexts make clear that at that time the seal was used by another Aršāma (Elam. Iršama), the son of Darius I and the royal woman *Ṛtastūnā- (Elam. Irtašduna, Gk. Ἀρτυστώνη).⁸ In other words, when Aršāma the satrap used the seal on the letter-*bullae* sometime in the second half of the fifth century, it was an heirloom some fifty to a hundred years removed from its original Persepolitan context.

It is extremely rare within glyptic studies of ancient Western Asia, given the fragmentary and dispersed nature of the surviving archaeological record, to have the same seal documented in two separate locations. That these two occurrences, clay letter-*bullae* presumably from Egypt and clay tablets excavated at Persepolis, are separated in space by some 3,000 kilometres and in time by some fifty to a hundred years is no less noteworthy. The users of these seals, moreover, are individuals at the very highest levels of the Achaemenid royal house. The Aršāma in the Fortification archive was a protagonist in what remained of the Teispid line of the royal family, raising yet again an intriguing set of questions and issues surrounding that family at the court of Darius I (see, for example, Garrison 2011a, Henkelman 2011a: 580–1). Lastly, the discovery of the seal of Aršāma on the Bodleian letter-*bullae* and in the Fortification archive provides another remarkable example of a phenomenon now well attested in the Fortification archive, the use of high-prestige heirloom seals by members of the Achaemenid royal house (see Garrison 2011a, Garrison 2014a and b, Henkelman 2018a: 809, 811–12, 816).

Though the exact relation between the Aršāma of the Fortification archive and the Aršāma of the Bodleian corpus remains unclear, we will henceforth refer to them, for convenience's sake, as 'Aršāma 1' and 'Aršāma 2'. The dossiers

⁷ Throughout this chapter we shall assume broad familiarity with the Persepolis Fortification archive and the institutional economy it reflects. For recent introductions see Garrison and Root 2001: 1–60, Henkelman 2008a: 65–179, Garrison 2017c: 15–116, Azzoni *et al.* 2017. For a historical contextualization of the material see, among others, Wiesehöfer 2001: 66–79, 268–70, Briant 2002: 422–48, 938–43, Kuhrt 2007: 763–814 (select texts with commentary), and Henkelman 2017a. Proceedings of conferences focused on the Fortification archive have been published in Briant, Henkelman, and Stolper 2008 and Jacobs, Henkelman, and Stolper 2017.

⁸ Within the archive, the seal bears the siglum PFS 2899*. For ease of reference, we shall hereafter refer to the seal simply as the 'seal of Aršāma' (rather than PFS 2899*). On siglum conventions within the Fortification archive, see Henkelman 2008a: 75–7, Garrison 2008: 150 n. 1, Garrison 2017c: 49–52.

pertaining to these two individuals will be treated hereafter in reverse chronological order.⁹

2. THE DOSSIER OF ARŠĀMA 2

2.1. Date

An Aramaic letter from Elephantine certainly refers to an Aršāma (*ʾršm*), ostensibly as satrap of Egypt, in year 38 of Artaxerxes (I) (427). A possible earlier reference in a Demotic text from Saqqara is from year 27 of the same king (435).¹⁰ In other Aramaic Elephantine papyri, an Aršāma occurs at the end of the fifth century, in the reign of Darius II, again ostensibly as satrap of Egypt. The latest known Elephantine document mentioning Aršāma must date after 407 (TADAE A4.9). This gives a range of minimally 427–407 and maximally 435–407. Babylonian references to Aršāma 2, mostly from the Murašû archive, fall within the range of 429–403 (Pirngruber i 300–39). Although they have no direct bearing on Aršāma's tenure as satrap, the fact that they more or less overlap with the dated Egyptian materials deserves emphasis.

The chronological position of the undated Aršāma letters in the Bodleian collection in relation to the aforementioned dated sources from Egypt has not been settled. Whereas most commentators, starting with Eugen Israel Mittwoch (1939: 97–8), have tended to place the corpus at about the same time as the relevant Elephantine material (shortly after 410), a minority has argued for a higher date, around 450. Among scholars advocating the higher date one finds the name of Paul Kahle (1949: 205–8), but also, most recently, that of Joachim Friedrich Quack (2016).¹¹

⁹ The form of the name cited throughout this chapter, Aršāma, is that given in the Old Persian inscriptions for the paternal grandfather of Darius I (*a-r-š-a-m*; see e.g. DPb I.4f.). This form, in turn, reflects Old Iranian *Aršāma- or Ršāma-. For these and other forms of the name (Aram. *ʾršm*, Akk. Aršammu, Dem. *ʾršm*, Gk. Ἀρσάμης, Lyc. Arssāma-, Elam. Iršāma) see Schmitt 1982: 18, Schmitt 2006: 77–80, Schmitt 2011: 95, Schmitt 2014: 238, Schmitt and Vittmann 2013: 40, Tavernier 2007: 13 (1.2.3), 44 (2.2.2), Tavernier iii 75.

¹⁰ An Aramaic letter, TADAE A6.1 (Elephantine), is addressed to 'our lord Aršāma' (i.e. the satrap) and is dated to 19.VIII.38/Artaxerxes (I), hence November 427. A record of official proceedings, S.H5-DP 434 (Saqqara), mentions 'our lord Aršāma' five times and dates to 16.II.30 (or 18.II.30); a royal name is not preserved. The context leaves no doubt as to Aršāma's status as satrap; the mention of a certain *Miçapāta- links the document to the Aršāma correspondence (notably A6.15). The date can plausibly be taken to refer to the reign of Artaxerxes I, hence 24 (or 26) January 435 (so Smith and Martin 2009: 31–9, Smith, Martin, & Tuplin i 289). A third document (P.Mainz 17: Demotic; unprovenanced) mentions Aršāma and dates to year 36, presumably of Artaxerxes I (Vittmann 2009: 102–4; see also Schmitt and Vittmann 2013: 40). The regnal dates in PBM EA 76281–76282 (6, 11, 14) probably refer to Darius II (Smith, Martin, & Tuplin i 293).

¹¹ Further references can be found in Quack's 2016 study. Kahle gave his tentative date on the basis of Ctesias' testimony; he seems to have been the first to suspect that the damaged name in

The question of the preferred dating hinges on the only recognizable text-internal chronological marker in the Aršāma correspondence: the mention of a recent rebellion, under the leadership of a person whose name is damaged (A6.7:7).¹² Quack's collation of the passage (from photographs) led to his endorsement of Vittmann's earlier proposal to restore the personal name as *yn[h]rw* instead of Driver's *'n[d]rw* (Quack 2016, citing Vittmann 1989: 216). This would be an unproblematic rendering of the Egyptian name *'Irt-Ḥr-r=w* (presumably spoken *Yinhāraw*), better known from its Greek form, *Ἰνάρως*. The name is a common one and its historical implication is therefore a matter of debate.

For Quack, the combination of the possible reading *yn[h]rw*, the qualification of its bearer as 'bad' or 'wicked' (*lhy*), and especially the reference to a revolt support identification of *yn[h]rw* with the rebel Inarōs known from Greek sources. The latter's revolt ended in 454/3, or, according to Kahn 2008, in 458/7. Accordingly, Aršāma would have taken up office sometime in the 450s (and perhaps as early as 457), hence in agreement with the—admittedly garbled—reference by Ctesias to one Sarsames (mss. *Σαρσάμαν, Σαρτάμαν*). Ctesias states that this person was installed as satrap of Egypt 'after' the said revolt (Ctes. 688 F14.38).¹³

Tuplin, independently commenting on the same dating problem, hesitantly accepted the evidence from Ctesias for an early start of Aršāma's satrapal career (Tuplin iii 8–11). He furthermore cited *yn[h]rw* and its interpretation as *'Irt-Ḥr-r=w*/Inarōs as the most attractive available (yet not entirely certain) reading. But he did not weigh this evidence in the same way as Quack did, pointing out the popularity of the name and the circumstance that rebellions and other forms of unrest were common in Achaemenid Egypt. Instead, he adopted the scenario proposed by Lewis and others, in which a rebellion is assumed to have taken place in 411 (on account of Diod.13.46.6), putting the Aršāma correspondence at 410 or shortly after. This date would agree with the

A6.7:7 could be that of the rebel Inarōs (cf. below). Though his paper was not the place for a detailed philological analysis, his remarks were based on a thorough familiarity with the material (and should be given more credit than Lewis 1958: 395 n. 13 was willing to allow). Not only had he repeatedly spoken with the first editor and commentator of the Aršāma correspondence, Mittwoch (whose work was never published and is now considered lost), during their forced exile in London, but he had also obtained copies of Henning's notes on Mittwoch's manuscript and of Driver's then still unpublished edition of the texts and had extensively discussed these with Nyberg.

¹² A second argument could be derived from the occurrence of a certain *Miçapāta- (Aram. *Msp̄t*) in some of the Aršāma letters in the Bodleian Library; a person of the same name (Dem. *Msp̄t*) occurs in a document from Saqqara (S.H5-DP 434) that may be dated to 435 (see n. 10 above). The problem is that this date is not entirely certain; using the document would risk a circular argument. For the name *Miçapāta-, see Tavernier 2007: 246–7 (4.2.1094).

¹³ Note that Ctesias again refers to Aršāma, as satrap of Egypt, in connection with the events surrounding the accession of Darius II in 424/3 (688 F15.50). This time, the name is rendered *Ἀρξάνης*. The source citing Ctesias cannot be blamed for this, as F14 and F15 are both from Photius. See Tuplin iii 8–11.

contents of some of the letters, which imply that they were drafted outside Egypt (in Babylonia and/or Susa). Elephantine documents show that Aršāma left his satrapy sometime in the first half of 410 (perhaps returning by early 406).¹⁴

Yet other chronological scenarios are possible and have been proposed; all come with a fair dose of uncertainty. Moreover, the testimony of Ctesias in combination with the latest Egyptian document referring to Aršāma (after 407) implies a term in office of almost fifty years. Such a long period would be remarkable under normal circumstances, but in a dossier riddled with ambiguity such as that of Aršāma it becomes an uncomfortable factor. To make things worse, Aršāma is still mentioned in a Babylonian document as an estate-owner in Aug./Sept. 403 (TCL 13.203; see Stolper 1985: 64 and Pirngruber i 302–4 (no. 1)). This minimally suggests that Aršāma was still alive at this point and it opens the possibility that he was still in tenure as satrap. Though an active life stretching over more than half a century is not impossible, it should not be forgotten that its assumption crucially depends on Ctesias' indirectly transmitted account and, if one adopts Vittmann's reading, on the understanding of the reconstructed name *yn[h]rw* as a reference to the rebel Inarōs.

As an issue separate from the uncertainties surrounding the early date of an Egyptian satrap named Aršāma, it cannot be excluded that the Aršāma dossier as a whole actually refers to *two* homonymic and successive satraps of Egypt (cf. Quack 2016: 58–9).

The unresolved problems in Aršāma's *vita* and notably the lack of agreement on the date of the Aršāma letters in the Bodleian Library introduce an element of uncertainty into some of the discussions that follow. Notably affected by it is the issue of the familial relation between the satrap Aršāma (2) and his presumed forebear, Aršāma (1), son of Darius I.

2.2. Aršāma 2: Dynastic Connections

An Old Persian inscription on the lid of an alabaster perfume container, *olim* collection Georges Michailidis and reportedly obtained in Edfu, reads *Ariyāršā Aršāmhyā puça*, 'Ariyāršan, son of Aršāma'. The object supposedly stems from Egypt, but its exact provenance and present location are unknown; the private collection from which it stems was marred with a range of objects of dubious

¹⁴ See Tuplin iii 49–56, citing Lewis 1958; see also Tuplin i 127. The evidence from Diodorus is ambivalent: it speaks of Persian fear of joint action by the 'kings' of the Arabians and Egyptians against Phoenicia. If such a revolt really happened (which is nowhere confirmed), it was probably geographically limited to the Delta. It would therefore hardly qualify as referent of the serious troubles mentioned by Aršāma in TADAE A6.7. The scepticism expressed by Quack (2016: 60) seems entirely justified. See also, similarly, the comments by Briant 1988a: 143 and 2002: 596–7. Note that Lewis invoked the Aršāma correspondence and its assumed late date in support of his interpretation of Diodorus' testimony.

authenticity. There are, however, no formal objections to the inscription and its contents; both Mayrhofer and Schmitt accepted it as presumably genuine. Schmitt additionally pointed out that a monolingual Old Persian inscription should normally indicate a royal context, hence favouring identification of the Aršāma mentioned as the satrap of Egypt.¹⁵ While this argument has its attraction, it also risks circularity (confirmation of authenticity from association with Aršāma 2). The object, in short, is a perfect illustration of the dossier pertaining to, or possibly pertaining to, the satrap Aršāma. Despite the relative abundance of documentation, the *vita* and even the administrative persona of this Aršāma still in many ways elude us.¹⁶

As stated, Schmitt took the inscription on the lid of the alabaster container to refer to a son of Aršāma 2, but 'Ariyāršan, son of Aršāma' might alternatively be his father and son of another Aršāma, perhaps even Aršāma 1. While this possibility remains moot in the absence of supporting evidence, it raises an important question, that of the family relation between Aršāma 1 and Aršāma 2.

The occurrence of seal PFS 2899* (i.e. the seal of Aršāma) in the Fortification archive, its inscription naming an Aršāma and giving him the title *br byt'*, and the linkage of the seal with texts from the archive concerning the son of Darius and Irtašduna, Iršāma, unambiguously indicate that the seal belonged to Iršāma/Aršāma 1, prince of the Achaemenid royal house.

The information about the seal of Iršāma/Aršāma 1 in the Fortification archive in combination with the observations that (1) the Aršāma of the Bodleian letters also uses the seal, (2) the Aršāma of the Bodleian letters is equally identified as *br byt'*, 'royal prince', and (3) the Aršāma in the Murašû archive is repeatedly introduced as *mār bīti*, with the same meaning, lead us to assume an Aršāma 2, who, like Aršāma 1, was a member of the royal house.¹⁷ The use of PFS 2899* by the later Aršāma in combination with the repeated personal name moreover strongly suggest a direct familial linkage. We tentatively propose to identify Aršāma 2 as grandson or, perhaps, great-grandson, of Iršāma/Aršāma 1, son of Darius and Irtašduna.

¹⁵ Schmitt 2006: 80 n. 52 also points out that the names of Ariyāršan and Aršāma contain the same element (**ršan-*, 'man, hero'), in agreement with Indo-European tradition. The object was first published by Michaélidis (1943: 96–7, pl. V), the reading of the inscription corrected and commented by Mayrhofer 1964: 86–7. (See also Mayrhofer 1978: 33, Tuplin APS iii 7–8.) Another monolingual Old Persian inscription (from Darius I) occurs on a door pin said to be from the Hibis temple in the Khargeh Oasis (DKa); this inscription was also part of the Michaélidis collection and was subsequently acquired by the National Museum of Antiquities (RMO) in Leiden (F1966/6.6): see Michaélidis 1943: 91–3, pl. III and Tavernier n.d.

¹⁶ Since the various parts of the dossier on Aršāma 2 are the focus of other parts of this publication, we refrain from discussing his estates and herds in the Nippur region, his estates and personnel in Egypt, his network of connections, or the fragmentary evidence for his political, administrative, and military activities as satrap of Egypt. See especially Tuplin's exhaustive survey of Aršāma-related materials in Tuplin iii 3–72.

¹⁷ On the royal status of Aršāma 2 compare the reflections of Tuplin APS iii 11, 31–8.

If, however, the above suggestion (§2.1) of *two* successive satraps named Aršāma proved to be correct, one would have to reckon with the possibility that the Aršāma (2) of the Bodleian materials was the son of Iršāma/Aršāma 1 and he himself was succeeded by a son of the same name ('Aršāma 3').

For the sake of clarity, and to avoid speculation, we will henceforth assume the existence of only one Egyptian satrap named Aršāma (2), whom we posit to have been a direct descendant of Iršāma/Aršāma 1.

3. THE DOSSIER OF ARŠĀMA 1

3.1. Date

The *vita* of Aršāma 1 is covered by less documentation, but can be dated with more confidence than that of the Egyptian satrap. In the Fortification archive, Iršāma/Aršāma 1 occurs several times with the royal woman Irtašduna/*Ṛtastūnā (PF 0733, PF 0735, PF 2035). Herodotus knows of an Arsames, son of Darius I and Artystone/*Ṛtastūnā (7.69.2). We concur with earlier commentators that this must be the same person.¹⁸

Herodotus furthermore relates that Artystone was, like Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus and thus a (half-)sister of Cambyses and Bardiya. His claim (3.88.2) that Darius married the sisters—Artystone still a maiden—only after he had taken power, has all the logic of dynastic legitimation but is strictly speaking not proven. If correct, Aršāma 1 must have been born in 521 or later.

Dated Fortification documents that mention the name of Iršāma/Aršāma 1 are all from Dar.24 (498/7); the prince must have been in his early twenties by then (for the texts see §3.2 below). At this age, he either had his own estate in Matannan or shared the property with his mother, arranged for provisions to be delivered to his niece and fellow-member of the Teispid branch of the royal family Uparmiya/*(H)uparviyā (Gk. Πάρμυς), issued other written orders to his staff and sealed these with the seal that is the subject of this chapter.

Herodotus' only mention of Arsames/Aršāma 1, cited above, is in the context of the army and fleet review at Doriscus in 480. In the army of his half-brother, Xerxes, the prince is said to have commanded the Arabians and Ethiopians 'who are above Egypt' (7.69.2).¹⁹ It is often assumed that Aeschylus

¹⁸ *Suda* θ/162 (also α/3544) quotes Aelian (F46 Hercher 1866 = F49b Domingo-Forasté 1994, perhaps from lost parts of the *Varia Historia*) on the case of beautiful girls from Cyzicus, given to 'Darius' daughter Arsamē (τῇ Δαρείου θυγατρὶ Ἀρσαμένῃ), which may be a garbled reference to Aršāma 1.

¹⁹ In the preceding paragraph another son of Darius, Arsamenes (Ἀρσαμένης), occurs, but Herodotus does not mention his mother (7.68.2). Schmitt points out that name of Arsamenes and

refers to the same Arsames, when he lists a person of that name as an officer in Xerxes' army and relates that he perished at Salamis (*Persae* 308). This Arsames, however, is said to have been commander of Memphis (36–7). The two affiliations are not necessarily mutually exclusive; the connection with Egypt is tantalizing in view of the career of Aršāma 2.

Tuplin has pointed out that the possible presence of two (half-)brothers of Xerxes, Arsames/Aršāma 1 and Achaemenes, in Egypt in the 480s would make sense from a strategic perspective.²⁰ One could furthermore speculate that the appointment of Aršāma 2 as satrap of Egypt somehow related to his forebear's service there. It is important to remember, however, that there is no concrete proof for this reconstruction and that, once again, the danger of a circular argument looms over any such speculation. Strictly speaking, we have little more than the mundane observation that Arsames/Aršāma 1 participated in Xerxes' Greek campaign. Even his death in it, at the age of barely forty (or less), is uncertain, as it rests on the unproved identification with Aeschylus' Arsames, not to mention assumptions about the playwright's historical reliability.

3.2. Aršāma 1: Persepolitan contexts

The seal of Aršāma to date has been identified on two documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive. Both of these appear to be Elamite letter-orders issued by Iršāma/Aršāma 1 and written on regular tongue-shaped tablets. The first, NN 0958 (Fig. 2.84, Pl. 9 (middle, bottom)), is well preserved and poses no major problems. The second, Fort. 0965-201 (Fig. 2.85, Pl. 9 (upper)), is a small fragment of which only two lines of cuneiform text are partially preserved. Its description as a letter-order rests on the occurrence of $\text{r}tu_4\text{-}ru[-i\check{s}]$, 'speak!' (lines 1–2.); its assignment to the dossier of Aršāma 1 is based on the seal impressions, as the reading of the personal name in line 2 is uncertain.

NN 0958 (edition and commentary: App. 7.1)

^{01–02} Speak to Ušaya, ^{02–03} Iršāma speaks as follows: ^{03–04} '1,000 l. *tarmu* (emmer?)
^{05–07} from my domain at Madanaš (Matannan) ^{07–09} issue to Šurauba!' ^{09–10} 24th year.

^{11–12} Masdumaka is the deliveryman.

Fort. 0965-201 (edition and commentary: App. 7.2)

^{01–02} To [PN] $\text{spea}[k, \text{ }^{02–03} \text{Irša}]ma^?$ $\text{spe}[aks^?$ as follows: '...']

Aršāma contain $\text{*}\check{r}\check{s}an-$, 'man, hero', as their first element, which makes them a kind of pair. The same word occurs as the second element in the name of Xerxes ($\text{Xšaya-}\check{r}\check{s}an-$): see Schmitt 2006: 80, and cf. n. 15 above.

²⁰ Tuplin iii 11–15, where the possibility of dating a purported siege of Barca in Cyrenaica (Polyaen. 7.28.1) in the 480s is also discussed. For the various individuals named Arsames in Greek sources see also the convenient survey in Schmitt 2011: 95.

The seal of Aršāma occurs on the reverse, upper, and left edges of NN 0958 (Fig. 2.84, Pl. 9 (middle, bottom)). The occurrence of the seal on a letter-order is important, for it securely links the seal with Iršāma/Aršāma 1. Sealing protocols on letter-orders in the Fortification archive are straightforward: only the seal of the person giving the order (i.e. the addressor) occurs on the tablet.²¹ By analogy, the fragment Fort. 0965-201, which appears to preserve part of the opening lines of a typical letter-order, and which bears two impressions of the same seal, logically must be a second letter-order by Aršāma 1. The reverse carries a well-preserved impression of a section of the terminal field of the seal, including five letters of the inscription (Fig. 2.85, Pl. 9 (upper)). The upper edge (Fig. 2.85) preserves only two partial impressions of the seal, one of the arms of the protagonist, one of the arms of the standing adversary.

In NN 0958, Iršāma/Aršāma 1 addresses Ušaya, presumably his steward at the *ulhi*, 'house, estate', Madanaš (cf. App. 7.1 ad 01). This place, better known as Matannan, was located in relative proximity to modern Šīrāz; it is well attested in PFA as the site of an estate granted to Irtašduna, the mother of Iršāma/Aršāma 1 (§3.1). Since this same estate is once referred to as 'a village named Matannan, village of the woman Irtašduna' (PF 1857: 17–19), it may be inferred (1) that village and estate were conterminous and (2) that Irtašduna and Iršāma shared (parts of) the same estate. It seems that the estate could also be referred to as the *partetaš*, 'plantation', at Matannan (PF 0144).

A further assumption links the said property at Matannan to 'the palace of the king, which (lies) in the town of Matnānu', mentioned in YOS 7 187, a Babylonian document dating to year 7 (or 8) of Cambyses. Assuming that Cambyses developed a palatial estate at Matannan, the following sequence of events becomes plausible: (1) inheritance by Bardiya after Cambyses' demise, (2) confiscation by the victorious Darius, (3) usufruct grant to Irtašduna, his bride and connection to the Teispid house, (4) subsequent co-usufruct grant to Iršāma/Aršāma 1. On the surface, the reason for the grant would be precisely that Irtašduna was (half-)sister of Cambyses, the previous owner. More fundamentally, it meant a concrete gesture in a policy of pacification towards the remaining members of the Teispid house, of which Irtašduna (and later her son) was now a leading member. The state-organized care for the funerary sacrifices for Cambyses and his wife Upanduš/Phaedyme fit this same pattern (see App. 7.1. ad 05 for more details and references).

The Šurauba to whom *tarmu* is to be issued occurs only here: he may have been another official belonging to the circle of Iršāma/Aršāma 1, perhaps charged with distribution or processing of commodities at Iršāma's court, or with the marketing of surplus (App. 7.1 ad 7f.). Šurauba is to receive the grain from an intermediary, Masdumaka, acting as *hirakurra*, which we tentatively

²¹ On the sealing protocols of letter-orders, see Hallock 1977: 128, Henkelman 2008a: 133–4, Garrison 2017c: 34–5, 53–5, 73–7.

render as ‘transporter, delivery-man’ (App. 7.1 ad 12). It may be surmised that Masdumaka had received his own orders, perhaps to deliver the grain to Aršāma’s court, to process it, or to market it. The transaction is dated to year 24 (498/7); a month date does not occur. All other dated PFA texts mentioning Aršāma are from Dar.24 (cf. below).

Little can be said about Fort. 0965-201, except that the analogy with NN 0958 and the letter-orders from the royal women Irtašduna and Irdabama suggests that it may have been another such order by Iršama/Aršāma 1 pertinent to the management of his domain(s).

The third Elamite text belonging to the dossier of Iršama/Aršāma 1, PF 0309, is a receipt for barley issued to the woman Uparmiya on the orders of Aršāma. The transaction recorded in it must have occurred in response to an earlier letter-order by the prince:

PF 0309 (edition and commentary: App. 7.3)

⁰¹ 900 (l.) barley, ^{01–02} allocation from Karkiš, ⁰³ (as) Iršama had ordered, ^{04–05} the woman Uparmiya received. ^{05–06} 24th year (498/7).

Aramaic docket: Huparvi. ʾIrʾʾtapata.

The supply official named in the text, Karkiš, may be located in the area of Hunar (plausibly Tappeh Bormi) on the basis of the seal on the obverse of the tablet (PFS 0044s). Presumably the same Karkiš recurs in PF 0734, a receipt for commodities consumed at the court of Irtašduna and Iršama/Aršāma 1; there, the connection with Hunar is made explicit (App. 7.3 ad 01f., App. 7.4. ad 03). The reading of the name ʾIrʾʾtapata (*Rtapāta-) in the Aramaic docket is uncertain; if correct, it could refer to Irdabad(d)a, an official active at Hutpirri. Like Hunar, this place may be situated in the western part of the so-called Fahliyān region (App. 7.3 ad I).

The beneficiary of the barley in the Elamite text, the woman Uparmiya, recurs in the Aramaic docket as ʾhʾʾprw (Huparvi). Both forms reflect *(H)uparviyā, better known in its Greek form Parmys (Πάρμυς). If Herodotus is correct in calling her daughter of Bardiya/Smerdis (3.88.3, cf. 7.78), she was the cousin of Aršāma 1 (App. 7.4 ad 04). That he was taking care of a female relative belonging to the same Teispid branch of the royal family signals that Aršāma was assuming a leading role in this precise context. At any rate, a position of considerable authority is implied in the use of the verb *šerašda*, ‘he had ordered’, which is generally reserved for the king, royal women, and people acting on behalf of royals (App. 7.4 ad 03).

Beyond the three texts mentioning Iršama/Aršāma 1 alone, there is a further group of three memoranda that mention him with his mother, Irtašduna (PF 0733, PF 0734, PF 2035). All dated to Dar.24, the texts are receipts for commodities requested for Irtašduna and her son. The expression used, PN *tibba makka/kitka*, lit. ‘consumed/poured before PN’, may refer to the court of the king, of (some) royal women, and of satraps. It therefore implies a social setting as well

as an autonomous organization charged with the victualling, preparation, and court-internal distribution of foodstuffs. Among the recipients must have been courtiers, administrators, and other personnel. While the ‘table’ or ‘dinner’ of the king is the most celebrated case in Greek sources, the Fortification archive additionally documents the ‘tables’ of Irdabama, Irtašduna (and Iršama), Udusa (Atossa), and the Carmanian satrap Karkiš (Gergis). Needless to say, the right to have one’s own ‘table’ implied not only a considerable degree of economic independence, but also great social prestige (Henkelman 2010 and below App. 7.4–6).

The three texts referring to the ‘table’ of Irtašduna and Iršama are atypical among texts dealing with princely courts in that the requested commodities appear to have been received on credit:

PF 0734 (edition and commentary: App. 7.4)

^{01–02} 21 l. cereal products, ^{02–03} allocation from Karkiš, ^{04–07} were consumed at the court of the woman Irtašduna and Iršama ^{07–11} and loaned[?] at the estate of Napumalika. ^{11–12} 24th year, ^{12–13} (this tablet was issued at) Hunar.
Aramaic docket on reverse

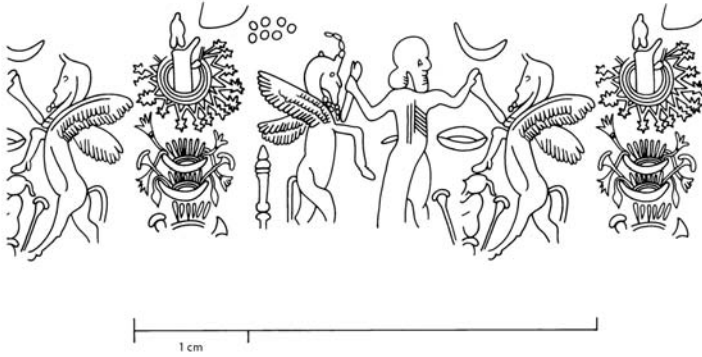
PF 0733 (edition and commentary: App. 7.5)

^{01–02} 4260 [l.[?]] flour and [barley[?]], ⁰³ allocation from Kama[. . .], ^{04–06} were consumed at the court of the woman Irtašduna and Iršama ^{07–10} and loaned[?] at the estate of Napumalika. ^{11–12} 24th year, ^{12–13} (this tablet was issued at) Uttitibena.

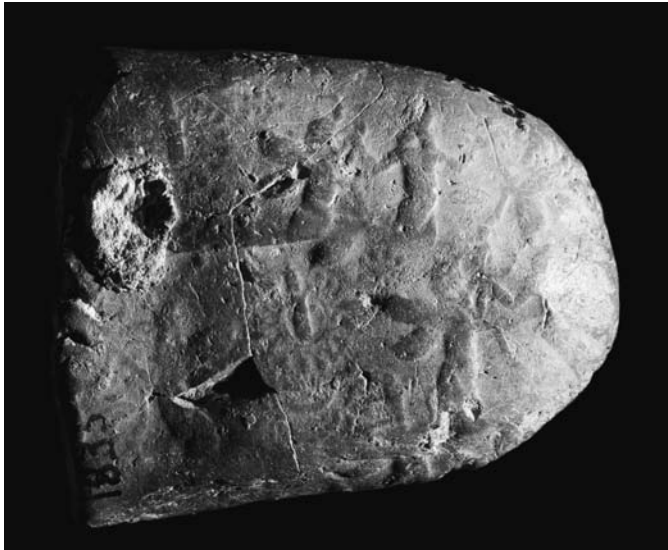
PF 2035 (edition and commentary: App. 7.6)

^{01–02} 543 l. beer, ^{02–03} allocation from Parruna, ^{03–06} were poured at the court of the woman Irtašduna and Iršama ^{06–10} and loaned[?] at the estate of Napumalika. ^{10–11} (this tablet was issued at) Menri. ^{11–12} 24th year.

Achaemenid royal women travelled with their own courts, in analogy to the famous nomadic court of the King of Kings. Irtašduna, for example, travelled to Ecbatana and while there ordered a variety of special products from her estates in Pārsa (Henkelman 2017a: 134–5, 195–202). This meant that the officials charged with victualling for their respective ‘tables’ left a paper trail wherever the court halted and requested food commodities from local stores. The secretary who actually drafted the records acknowledging receipt of these commodities and who handed them to the local administrators was a conscientious man, who sometimes took the trouble to indicate the place where the documents were issued (*ibid.* 122–3). This is the case in the three texts cited above: whereas cereal products, flour (and barley?), and beer were received at the estate of Napumalika, the receipts were issued at three different places. We do not know why this was the case and why the receipts were not issued all at once. Hunar, Uttitibena, and Menri may all be located in the western sector of the Fahliyān region, however, and were probably in close proximity of each other (App. 7.4 ad 03f., 12f., App. 7.5 ad 12f., App. 7.6 ad 02f.).



2.2. Collated line drawing of the seal of Irtašduna, PFS 0038.



2.3. Multiple impressions of PFS 0038 on the reverse of PF 1835.

Receipts for food requested for Irtašduna's court, like those cited above, are sealed with PFS 0038 (Fig. 2.2–2.3), the seal of Irtašduna.²² This expressed accountability, indicated the particular institutional setting, and facilitated the treatment of Irtašduna's dossier, once all the memoranda pertaining to her

²² On this seal see Garrison and Root 2001: 83–5 (cat. no. 16), with previous bibliography; see now also Garrison 2014b.

court were gathered at Persepolis and were treated by the accountants charged with the dossier. It is possible that royal women had to reimburse the state for commodities drawn from the institutional economy at large; in any case, the amounts received had to be accounted for. The circumstances under which commodities were drawn from the estate of Napumalika appear to have diverged from regular protocol, however, as they are said to have been ‘loaned’, a tentative translation of Elamite *terika*. It may be that this indicates that Napumalika was eligible for future reimbursement. Complete certainty cannot be found on account of the ambiguous etymology, but also because the secretary/ies working for Irtašduna used a peculiar idiom. It is only in their texts that the expression is found, five times in total (App. 7.4 ad 08).

As for Napumalika, he occurs elsewhere in the Fortification archive as a logistics official (denoted by the term *šaramanna*). Individuals of this rank regularly held landed estates in tenure, obviously as a reward for their services (Henkelman n.d. 1, Henkelman 2018c: 42–51). The term used in the case of Napumalika, *appiṣdamanna*, is uncommon, but may be a near-equivalent of the more regular *irmadim*, ‘estate’ (App. 7.4 ad 09f.). Such estates were subjected to various obligations: taxation, but also direct services (such as feeding troops travelling through Pārsa). The use of *terika* in connection with the estate of Napumalika may indicate an exception to this practice; if so, Napumalika acted as host but did not have to pay for the table of Irtašduna and Iršama/Aršama 1. Could this relate to his special status, particularly if he is to be identified with Nabû-mālik ‘the Mede’ and ‘chief accountant’, who appears to have interceded on behalf of the king in a conflict among landholders in the Sippar region (Dar.7: App. 7.4 ad 10f.)? While this is possible, it should be pointed out that several other estate holders known from the Fortification archive appear to be exceptional individuals, some with ties to the crown, yet they were bound to various obligations incumbent on their properties.

The six texts discussed here are, with the seal image and inscription, the only primary sources on Iršama/Aršama 1, son of Darius and Irtašduna. Whenever a date is preserved (five times), it is Dar.24 (498/7), suggestive of grouping in an archival file. At this time Iršama/Aršama 1 cannot have been older than twenty-four years of age, provided that Herodotus’ claim is correct (see above, p. 55). Young by modern standards, prince Iršama already was in possession of an impressive profile. He had, to start with, the authority to *šera*-, ‘command’ (PF 0309), a verb used in connection with a very limited range of individuals. It ostensibly conveyed the sense of highest, royal power, wielded by the monarch and shared only with certain members of his household, royal agents, and his direct representatives at satrapal level (App. 7.3. ad 03). Iršama’s use of the word *ulhi*, lit. ‘house’, in reference to the estate he held, perhaps with his mother, at Matannan is equally distinctive (NN 0958). Whereas the word is here used in its more concrete meaning ‘estate’, a wider part of its semantic range is activated at the same time, certainly given the commanding tone of the letter (cf. App.

7.1. ad 06). In the Fortification archive, *ulhi* is used in reference to the royal domain, to the estates of members of the royal house, and, sometimes, to the estates of high-ranking individuals. In the latter context, *irmadim*, ‘estate’, is much more common, however. When Iršama/Aršāma 1 speaks of his *ulhi*, it therefore identifies him as more than an average estate-owner: it singles him out as master of his own ‘house’, a semi-autonomous household with its own staff, personnel, and bureaucratic complexity. The fact that we have one of his letters, NN 0958, in which he engages in the management of his landed property underlines this perspective: letters from ordinary estate-owners do not occur in the archive.

The format of the letter-order NN 0958 requires a few more comments. More than half of the tongue-shaped letter-orders are by the general director of the Persepolis economy, Parnakka, and his lieutenant, Ziššawiš. These and other such documents concern operations that were exceptional in the widest sense: anything that would not follow from standing orders, rosters, etc. and that needed special attention and explicit authorization. Other addressors of letter-orders include Parnakka’s successor (Ašbazana), a (sub-)regional director (Irtuppiya), department heads (as, for example, the chief of cattle Harrena and the chief equerry Hiumizza), and a small group of other top-level officials. One could say, therefore, that Parnakka and his closest colleagues issued letter-orders in their capacity of masters of the institutional household. By analogy, Irtašduna, Irdabama, and Iršama/Aršāma 1 issued letter-orders as masters of their own households. That these letter-orders are preserved in the Fortification archive indicates the degree to which the estates were interwoven with the general institutional landscape.²³

Iršama’s action on behalf of his cousin, Uparmiya, speaks volumes on the status he had already acquired. This is also how the evidence on food commodities dispensed ‘before Irtašduna and Iršama’, i.e. at the court of Artystone and her son, should be read. Rather than implying that Iršama was still under Irtašduna’s motherly care and practising his table manners, the expression shows that he held a privileged position, certainly among his direct siblings. On the basis of his dossier in the Fortification archive, we would posit that Iršama/Aršāma 1 was stepping into his role as leader of the Teispid members of the royal house, a suggestion upon which we shall elaborate at a later point (§6). For now, suffice it to say that the documentary profile of Iršama/Aršāma 1 matches the expectations generated by his magnificent seal.

²³ The tongue-shaped letter-orders in PFA are distinct from actual letters (on rectangular tablets). They probably first served as prescriptive (or ‘pre-primary’) and then as descriptive (or ‘primary’) documents, hence their format and the fact that they were found in Persepolis. See Hallock 1969: 50–3, Koch 2006, Henkelman 2008a: 104, 133–4, 136–7, 140–6, Jones and Stolper 2008: 32, Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 182, Garrison 2017c: 34–5. For Ašbazana (and Irdumartiya) as occupants of Parnakka’s office see Henkelman n.d. 1, n.d. 3, and Garrison 2017c: 108 n. 216, with previous literature. (Vice-)directorial letter-orders are recognizable by their colophons, on which see Henkelman 2008a: 147–53, Tavernier 2008, Tavernier 2017, Tuplin i 269–83. For Irtuppiya see Henkelman 2018c: 48–49; for Harrena and Hiumizza see Henkelman n.d. 1.

4. THE SEAL OF PRINCE ARŠĀMA

4.1. Description

The seal of Aršāma is a large cylinder seal (Fig. 2.1). It measures approximately 2.70 cm in height; with the seal cap approximately 3.10 cm in height (see below). The length of the collated image is approximately 5.60 cm, which would yield a diameter of approximately 1.80 cm for the original seal matrix. The seal is huge by Persepolitan, and, indeed, Achaemenid, glyptic standards.²⁴ The size of the seal is one of several features that characterize it as a high-prestige artefact.

The following description and accompanying line drawing (Fig. 2.1) are based upon collation of all impressions of the seal from both the Fortification archive (Figs. 2.84–2.85, Pl. 9) and the seven letter-*bullae* (Figs. 1.4, 1.9, 1.14, 1.25–1.26, 1.31, 1.36, 1.41–1.42, Pls. 1–3, 5–8) in the Bodleian Library.

The scene is a combat between two individuals. A horse stands at right and left of the paired combatants. Along the bottom edge of the encounter, below the combatants and the horses, are three dead individuals who lie supine.²⁵ In the upper field are a crescent, a winged ring-in-disk, and an Aramaic inscription. The three dead individuals and the combatant at right are all dressed in a similar manner: ankle-length trousers, long coats, and pointed caps; one thus assumes that they represent the enemy party. The combatant at left is larger in scale, dressed differently, and clearly getting the better of the encounter; one assumes thus that he is the principal protagonist of the scene.

The principal protagonist stands at left facing to right. The foot of his back leg rests upon the hand of the extended arm of the first dead combatant, who lies along the bottom of the design, the foot of his forward leg upon the leg the second dead combatant. He holds his right arm bent and extends it upwards to left behind his head to hold the shaft of a long spear. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outwards horizontally before his chest to grasp the shaft of the same spear, which runs behind his head. He drives the weapon into the shoulder of his adversary at right. The spear is very long and has a short return at its upper end. He wears a knee-length tunic (or, perhaps, coat), double-belted at the waist, over ankle-length trousers. A bow-and-arrow case (*gorytos*, the Greek technical term for such a thing) depends diagonally from his waist; it is depicted running behind his torso. He has a long blunt-pointed beard. The

²⁴ Compare the sizes of seals in Garrison and Root (2001: 471–84); note especially the royal-name seal PFS 0007* (Figs. 2.80–2.81), by far the largest seal published in Garrison and Root (2001), whose reconstructed height is 3.00 cm, diameter 1.70 cm. Note also the large seal impressed on an Achaemenid Elamite tablet, BM 108963: the incomplete impression measures some 2.90 cm in height and 3.60 cm in length (Garrison, Jones, and Stolper 2018: 8).

²⁵ We shall refer to the dead individuals along the bottom edge of the scene as the first, second, and third dead combatants, reading from left to right and starting with the partially preserved dead combatant below the horse immediately to the left of the principal protagonist.

mouth, nose, and large eye are indicated. There is a large oval-shaped mass of hair at the back of his neck. He appears to wear a domed headdress; certainly there is a strap that hangs downwards from the back of his head, potentially associated with a headdress.²⁶ A rope, attached at the back of his waist, curves back behind him and connects with the reins of the horse at left. The horse is marchant, facing to right, above the body of the first dead combatant. Remnants of reins (?) are attached to its muzzle. The horse has a T-shaped forelock and a sharply pointed ear; a raised edge along the back of the neck indicates the mane. A thick tail (only partially preserved) curves downwards.

The adversary stands at right facing to left; he bends forwards slightly at the waist. The foot of his forward leg rests upon the extended arm of the second dead combatant in the lower field. He holds his left arm straight and extends it upwards behind his head, the hand seemingly open. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outwards at shoulder level, his hand grasping the shaft of the spear that is thrust into his shoulder. He wears a long coat over ankle-length trousers; the coat falls to a point behind his back.²⁷ Bracelets are apparently

²⁶ One thinks here naturally of the domed headdresses worn by many of the individuals who wear coats and trousers on Persepolitan reliefs, e.g., most prominently, the alternating ushers who lead the delegations on the so-called Apadana (Schmidt 1953: pls. 28, 30, 31, etc., from both stairways) and the alternating Persian nobles who stand behind the spear-bearers (Schmidt 1953: pls. 51–2, from the eastern stairway). (For the problematic term Apadana, used here only for the sake of convention, see e.g. Razmjou 2010: 231–3; cf. Schmitt and Stronach 1987.) The domed headdresses worn by these individuals on the Apadana have a decorative element that depends from the back of the headdress, what Schmidt (1953: 84) called an ‘attached ribbon or the like’. Koch (1993: 118–25) has pointed out, however, that this element may be an animal tail. This sartorial kit (coat, trousers, and domed headdress) has often been identified as a distinctive ‘Median’ garment (and, thus, worn by ‘Medians’). There is in fact no basis for this identification, as most recently discussed in Stronach 2011. Like Stronach, we see the coat and trousers as simply being an alternate ceremonial Iranian garment, perhaps of eastern origin, that emphasizes a particularly valued aspect of Iranian manliness, horsemanship. Thus, Wu’s (2005: 79, 2010: 552) assertion that the ‘victor can thus be easily identified as a Mede’ is erroneous (and would certainly make no sense within the context of the original seal-owner, Iršāma/Aršāma 1, son of Darius I and Irtašduna). Balzer (2007: 1.162) takes the headdress as a tiara and the strap hanging from it as a diadem, arguing that the combination points to the king or his closest relatives. Apart from the fact that the headdress is not a tiara, we consider the fragmented evidence on Achaemenid diadems inconclusive.

²⁷ The coat then has a tail not dissimilar to what we would see on certain styles of formal menswear today. Tuplin (2020: 389), following Wu (2005: 80), describes this garment, as well as the garments worn by the dead combatants, as a ‘cut-away coat’. This moniker is typically used to describe the belted coats worn by various Sakā groups depicted in Achaemenid monumental relief (see e.g. Roaf 1974: 91, 111–12, 119–21, 130; here Fig. 2.47). These types of coat are closed by a belt at the waist and open at the front below the waist (hence ‘cut-away’); whether these coats fall to a point at the back or have a horizontal hem is not indicated in monumental relief. These types of coat are to be distinguished from the long open cloaks (what Schmidt called ‘topcoats’) worn over a belted coat and trousers by some individuals on the stairway reliefs of the Apadana, such as certain Persian nobles who stand behind the spear-bearers (Schmidt 1953: pls. 51–2, from the eastern stairway). On these individuals the cloak has a uniform hem-length, at the ankles, and is clearly open displaying the belted coat and trousers.

indicated at his wrists. He has a long pointed beard. The mouth and a large eye are indicated. He wears a cap, apparently soft, that rises to a point at the top front of his head.²⁸ A bow-and-arrow case is attached at his waist. A rope, attached near the back of the elbow of his left arm, curves back behind him and connects with the reins of the horse to right. This horse is marchant, facing to left, above the body of the third dead combatant. Remnants of reins run between its muzzle and its neck. The horse has an oval-shaped forelock and a sharply pointed ear. A thick tail (only partially preserved) curves downwards.

The three dead combatants lie supine along the bottom edge of the scene, head to toe. Each holds one arm straight and extends it to right behind his head. Each holds the other arm straight and extends to left along the front of his body. Hands are rendered as pinchers. Each wears a long belted coat over ankle-length trousers; the coat falls to a point behind his back. A bracelet is indicated on the wrist of the upper arm of the third dead combatant (at far right). Each has a long pointed beard. The first and third dead combatants each appears to wear a cap, apparently soft, that rises to a point at the top front of his head. A pointed cap in the field immediately above the head of the second dead combatant apparently belongs to him.²⁹ To the left of this cap, in the field between the principal protagonist and his adversary, is a recurve bow with a broken string.³⁰

Above the principal protagonist and his adversary are a winged ring-in-disk (at right) and a crescent (at left). The winged ring-in-disk has a bird's tail below and a 'yoke' above. A rib and two rows of feathers are indicated on the wings. The tail is divided into two sections; feathers are indicated on the lower section.

The Aramaic inscription (§4.3) is disposed in two lines, free-floating. Both lines begin in the field above the horse tethered to the principal protagonist and extend to the left into the terminal field (see also the comments below).

There is a thick horizontal border at the top and the bottom of the scene. Above these borders are irregular linear horizontal markings that may indicate parts of a seal cap.

²⁸ Tuplin (2020: 389) describes the headdress as a *bashlyk*. There is a wide range of variation in the headdresses that modern researchers identify as a *bashlyk*. Most commonly, headgear identified as a *bashlyk* has flaps that cover the ears and cheeks of the wearer. There is no indication that the headdresses worn by the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma have flaps that cover the cheeks. The cap that floats in the field before the standing adversary clearly does not have flaps (cf. Balzer 2007: 1.153 n. 8, 'Spitzmütze').

²⁹ Tuplin (2020: 389) reads the second dead combatant as wearing headgear; thus, the cap floating in the field is an anomaly. It seems to us that what we see on the second dead combatant is his hair (note it is rounded, not pointed like the headgear of the other antagonists); we therefore understand the cap floating in the field to belong to him.

³⁰ Alternatively, we are seeing an unstrung recurve bow (as Tuplin 2020: 389: 'sigma-bow'). The decision hinges on how one reads the two horizontal elements. We see them as the (broken) string. Conceivably they could be elaborate extensions of the ends of the bow (hence an unstrung recurve bow).

4.2. Date

As the seal of Aršāma occurs on a tablet whose transaction is dated to the year 498/7, we have a secure *terminus ante quem* for its creation. The analyses to follow concerning the seal inscription, carving style, theme, and iconography will indicate that the seal is very much at home within Persepolitan glyptic of the late sixth century. Given the special nature of the seal, i.e. a large, well-carved design of exceptional sophistication with an Aramaic inscription naming the seal-owner, and given the known biographic details about the seal-owner, it is most likely that the seal is a special commission, probably created not too many years (less than a decade) before it was impressed on a tablet at Persepolis in 498/7.³¹

4.3. Inscription

The two-line Aramaic inscription on the seal of Aršāma reads:³²

ḥt[m] [ʔ]rš[m]
br byt^ʔ

Seal of Aršam,
royal prince (lit. 'son of the house')

As the large size of the cylinder seal, so, too, the Aramaic inscription signals that the seal of Aršāma is a special glyptic artefact. Inscribed seals are rare in the Achaemenid period.³³ The fullest and most important corpora of such

³¹ The *communis opinio* to this point has been that the seal of Aršāma is an artefact of the last half of the fifth century, whether specifically stated as such (as e.g. Wu 2005: 77–81, 87, Wu 2010: 559: carved and used between 454 and 405/4) or tacitly implied (as e.g. Driver 1954: 2, pl. xxi, Moorey 1978: 149, Boardman 2000: 164–5). Balzer (2007: 1.162) is, to our knowledge, the only person who has stated in writing that the seal cannot be a product of the last half of the fifth century. He certainly exhibits prescience in positing a linkage to the Teispid line in the Achaemenid period: 'Das Siegel müßte in der Zeit Dareios I. oder Xerxes I. hergestellt und in der Familie des Arsames als Amtssiegel (?) weitergereicht worden sein. Anregung für das Siegelbild werden die Skythenkämpfe der Regierungszeit Kyros II. oder Dareios I. gewesen sein. Das Siegel könnte auch, unter bewußtem Rückgriff auf die Ereignisse und Ausdrucksformen der Zeit Kyros II. und Dareios I., in der Amtszeit des Arsames unter Artaxerxes I. mit der Siegelbildlegende des Arsames neu geschaffen worden sein.' We now know, of course, that there is no need to hypothesize a seal inscription added at a later date. Balzer's suggested post-490 date is based upon his chronology for the development of the winged symbol. The form of this element on the seal of Aršāma indicates, according to Balzer (loc.cit.), a date in or after 500/499. The glyptic imagery from the Fortification archive does not, however, support the dates that he assigns to this particular form of the winged disk. See the extensive analysis of the form of the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic in Garrison n.d. 1.

³² We thank Annalisa Azzoni for this reading.

³³ Inscribed seals are a rarity in glyptic from all periods of ancient Western Asia, but the glyptic of the Ur III period is marked by an exceptionally high percentage of inscribed seals: see, for example, the discussions of imagery and inscriptions on seals of the Ur III period in Winter 1986, Winter 1991, and Hattori 2001.

seals, which may serve to contextualize the inscription on the seal of Aršāma, are in fact from the Persepolis Fortification archive, the very archive in which the seal first occurs, and the Persepolis Treasury archive.

From some 4,050 distinct and legible seals that have been catalogued currently from the Fortification archive, only 207 carry an inscription.³⁴ Two languages, Elamite and Aramaic, account for most of the inscriptions on these seals; the preference for these two agrees with the circumstance that Elamite and Aramaic were the prime languages of administration in Pārsa.³⁵ Other groups of inscribed seals are much smaller: a limited number of Babylonian inscriptions, a small cluster bearing Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions, four trilingual royal name seals (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian), and one inscription in Aegean alphabetic characters.³⁶

Of the two principal languages used in seal inscriptions in the Fortification archive, Elamite is by far the more common, accounting for some seventy-four inscribed seals.³⁷ Aramaic inscriptions are many fewer in number: forty-three seals inscribed in this language have been identified to date.³⁸ It may be noteworthy, however, that Aramaic appears to be the preferred language for inscriptions on seals among the very highest levels of officials and imperial elite at Persepolis, including Parnakka (PFS 0009*, PFS 0016* (Figs 2.4–2.5)), Iršāma/Aršāma 1 (PFS 2899* (Fig. 2.1)), Harrena the livestock chief (PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67)), and Irdumartiya (PFS 0071* (Figs. 2.6–2.7)).³⁹

³⁴ Representing approximately 5% of the total number of distinct and legible seals in the archive. This discussion of inscribed seals from the Fortification archive supplements and updates Garrison and Root 2001: 7–9 and Garrison 2006: 70–2. Of the seventy-seven seals preserved in the Treasury archive, fifteen are inscribed (representing approximately 19% of the seals in the Treasury archive). Christina Chandler of Bryn Mawr College has in preparation a Ph.D. dissertation concerning the inscribed seals from the Fortification archive.

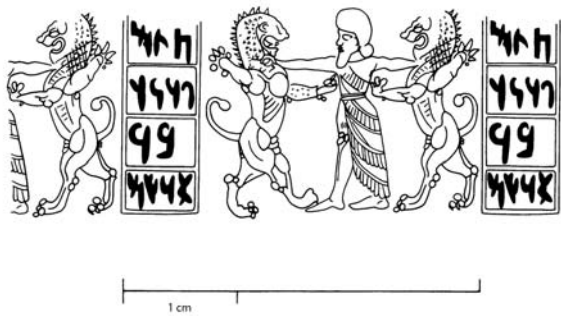
³⁵ Unless otherwise noted, inscriptions on seals are monolingual.

³⁶ Trilingual inscriptions on royal-name seals from the archive: Garrison 2014a. Elamite inscriptions: Garrison 2006: 70–2. Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions: Garrison and Ritner 2010. The alphabetic inscription is the subject of a forthcoming study by R. Oreshko.

³⁷ There are three seals from the Treasury archive that carry monolingual Elamite inscriptions: PTS 14*, PTS 15*, and PTS 24* (Schmidt 1957: 24–5, 27–8, pls. 6 and 8), in addition to PTS 42*, which is the same seal as PFS 1084* from the Fortification archive (Schmidt 1957: 30–1, pl. 10). Some fifty-one fragmentary seal inscriptions in the Fortification archive are in cuneiform script, but due to poor preservation their language cannot be ascertained. The language and script of the inscription on PTS 11* cannot be determined.

³⁸ There are three seals from the Treasury archive, PTS 20*, PTS 30*, and PTS 39* that carry Aramaic inscriptions (Schmidt 1957: 26, 29–30, pls. 7 and 9), in addition to PTS 33*, which is the same seal as PFS 0071* from the Fortification archive (Schmidt 1957: 33, pl. 11).

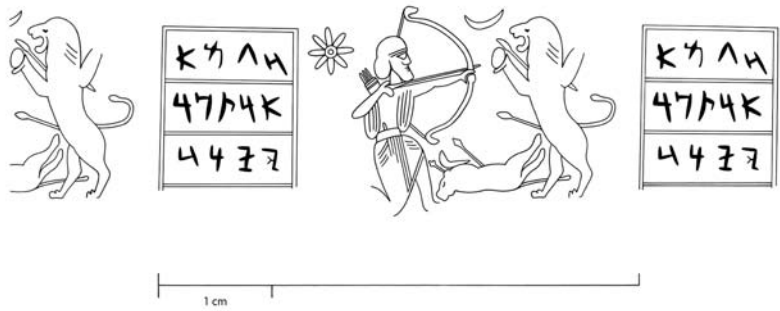
³⁹ Seals of Parnakka: Garrison and Root 2001: PFS 0009* (cat. no. 288), PFS 0016* (cat. no. 22), and Garrison ii 228–33. Seal of Harrena: PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67); see §5.5 below. Seal of Irdumartiya: see §5.2. Two exceptions to the preference for Aramaic on the seals used by high-ranking administrators at Persepolis are the seals of Ašbazana (Aspacanā, Gk. *Ἀσπαθίνης*). This individual may be the same as the nobleman represented in text and image on Darius' tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam (see e.g. Henkelman 2003: 119–28, Garrison 2014b). Ašbazana uses Elamite in both of his seals, PFS 1567* (Figs. 2.64–2.65), in the Fortification archive, and PTS 14*, in the Treasury archive (Garrison 1998; see also Garrison ii 242–5). An intriguing question in light of the use of Aramaic in the seal inscriptions for these high status individuals, but one that cannot be pursued in this venue, is why Aramaic did not constitute one of the languages employed in royal-name seals.



2.4. Collated line drawing of the second seal of Parnakka, PFS 0016*.



2.5. Impression of PFS 0016* on the left edge of PF 0665.



2.6. Collated line drawing of the seal of Irdumartiya, PFS 0071*.



2.7. Impression of PFS 0071* on the reverse of PF 0665.

There are a number of formulae for seal inscriptions in both Elamite and Aramaic at Persepolis.⁴⁰ For Aramaic inscriptions, these formulae are:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. PN | (e.g. PFS 0009* (Fig. 5.1)) |
| 2. PN + title | (e.g. PFS 0066a*) |
| 3. PN <i>šmh</i> + title | (only PFUTS 0019*) |
| 4. PN PN + title | (only PFS 0981*) |
| 5. <i>ẖtm</i> PN or <i>ẖtm l</i> PN | (e.g. PFS 0083* (Figs. 2.22–2.23)) |
| 6. <i>ẖtm</i> PN <i>br</i> PN | (e.g. PFS 0016* (Figs. 2.4–2.5)) |
| 7. <i>ẖtm</i> PN + title | (e.g. PFS 2106* (Figs. 2.10–2.11)) |

That there are numerous formulae employed in seals inscribed in Aramaic is quite interesting. Though no one formula has overwhelming numerical superiority, *ẖtm* PN is the most commonly occurring one.⁴¹

Including the seal of Aršāma, eight seals add a title or designation to the formula *ẖtm* PN.⁴² In each case, the title is unique:

⁴⁰ For the formulae used in Elamite seal inscriptions, see Garrison 2006: 70–2.

⁴¹ Nine examples are known to date: PFS 0083* (Figs. 2.22–2.23), PFS 0164* (Figs. 2.20–2.21), PFATS 0022*, PFATS 0024*, PFUTS 0114*, PFUTS 0264*, PFUTS 0305*, PFUTS 0559*, PFUTS 1217*. Owing to poor preservation, there are nine Aramaic seal inscriptions that cannot currently be read with any certainty.

⁴² The inscriptions on PFS 0054*, PFS 0082*, PFS 2106*, and PFUTS 0230* are difficult to resolve. In each case, there appear to be two words that follow the *ẖtm*; we are unable, however, to suggest any readings for the words in question. On analogy with other inscriptions that carry titles in Persepolitan glyptic (see immediately following), the only reading that makes any sense is a name followed by a title. With further study and/or the discovery of more exempla, one or more of the Aramaic inscriptions that are currently illegible (see above n. 41) may also yield a title.

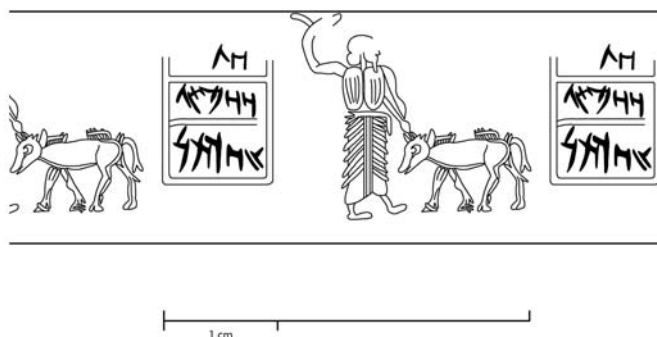
PFS 0054* <i>ḥtm' g'dhzy ḥr/dk' ...</i>	seal of...
PFS 0082* <i>ḥtm [...] [...] w'r/d' [...]</i>	seal of...
PFS 0266* <i>ḥtm syw [d]ym'</i>	seal of Syava the judge
PFS 2106* (Figs. 2.10–2.11) <i>ḥt[m] ddmšg' ḥktn</i>	seal...
PFS 2899* (Fig. 2.1) <i>ḥt[m] [']rš[m] br byt'</i>	seal of Aršāma <i>bar bayta</i> 'royal prince' (lit. 'son of the house')
PFUTS 0230* <i>ḥtm y'wh'k m/qt/gdt</i> (Figs. 2.12–2.13)	seal of...
PFUTS 0336* (Figs. 2.8–2.9) <i>ḥtm ddgš hby' [...]r/d</i>	seal of Sadakuš...
PFUTS 1555 [<i>ḥtm</i>] [...]yn <i>grdpt</i>	[seal of] [Irš]ena the * <i>grdapatiš</i>



2.8. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0336*.



2.9. Impression of PFUTS 0336* on the reverse of PFUT 2148-107.



2.10. Collated line drawing of PFS 2106*. Drawing by Christina Chandler.



2.11. Impression of PFS 2106* on the left edge of NN 2337.

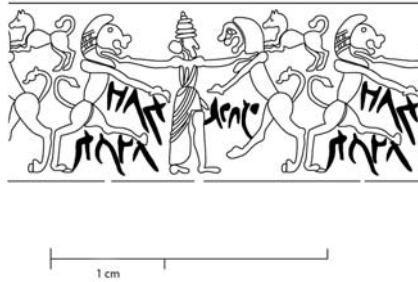
Four other titles or designations are attested in Aramaic seal inscriptions from Persepolis:⁴³

PFS 0066a*	<i>prndt ptp^ck⁻[n]</i>	*Farnadāta- (Elam. Parnadadda), *piθfakāna ⁴⁴
PFS 0066b*	<i>prndt ptp^ck⁻[n]</i>	*Farnadāta- (Elam. Parnadadda), *piθfakāna

⁴³ Titles in Elamite inscriptions are rare. The Elamite inscriptions on PFS 0001* and PFS 0025* both contain the word *unsak*, which may be an occupational designation, although there is much debate on this issue (see the discussion in Garrison 2017c: 60–2). The only other individuals to bear titles in seal inscriptions attested in the Fortification and Treasury archives are the kings Darius and Xerxes. The relevant trilingual royal-name seals designate them as ‘King’ in Old Persian and Elamite and as ‘Great King’ in Babylonian (Garrison 2014a).

⁴⁴ *ptp[kn]* is also attested in the Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Bactria (ADAB C1:47, C4:10), where it denotes an individual in charge of rations, *ptp* (Naveh and Shaked 2012: 143, 209, Tuplin 2017: 629, 660–76). The word probably reflects Iranian *piθfakāna- (Tavernier 2007: 410 (4.4.3.15), 430 (4.4.7.92), Tavernier iii 81), the exact meaning of which is yet to be established.

PFS 0066c*	<i>prndt pt[pkn]</i>	*Farnadāta- (Elam. Parnadadda), *piθfakāna
PFS 0535*	<i>šlmn wstrbr</i>	Šalamana *vastrabara- ('garment-bearer, chamberlain') ⁴⁵
PFS 0981*	<i>ʾršyṛ nṛ krkyš gnzbr [...]yb [...]y</i>	Iršēna (son of?) Karkiš, *ganzabara ('treasurer')... ⁴⁶
PFUTS 0019*	<i>ṛpṛtr/dk šmh kmr</i>	<i>pṛtr/dk</i> , by name, <i>kmr</i> ('priest') ⁴⁷



2.12. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0230*. Drawing by Christina Chandler.



2.13. Impression of PFUTS 0230* on the left edge of PFAT 0648.

Various titles occur in the Elamite texts from the Fortification and Treasury archives. As in other official Achaemenid records, none is used consistently:

⁴⁵ On *vastrabara- and vaçabara- (Elamite *lipte-ku(k)tira*) and the associated rank see Henkelman 2003: 117–29, Tavernier 2007: 434–5 (4.4.7.121), Tavernier 2014, Jursa 2011.

⁴⁶ On ganzabara (and kapnuškira), see Stolper 2001a, Stolper 2017b, Henkelman 2017a: 98–9, 101–2 n.77, 105 (with further references).

⁴⁷ *kmr* is also attested in PFAT 0390 (pl.) and PFAT 0619 (pers. comm. A. Azzoni).

often the name of the individual sufficed to identify him or her. That they were recorded at all is striking, certainly in the case of such honorific titles as *lipte-ku(k)tira*, ‘garment-bearer’ or ‘chamberlain’, and *kadukaparra*, ‘footstool-bearer’.⁴⁸ Whereas their occurrence presumably reflects a more common and perhaps more formal use outside the archive, the prime reason for their inclusion in the Elamite texts must have been to facilitate identification and, occasionally, to serve as an indication of social rank necessary to explain a particular ration scale, assignment or the like.

Specifically royal titles attested in the Elamite archives are the ubiquitous *sunki*, ‘king’ (written logographically, EŠŠANA), *abbamuš* (a unique title for Irdabama), *banuka* (‘lady, queen’), *dukšiš* (‘royal woman’), and *misapušaš* (‘prince’). Of these, *sunki*, *abbamuš*, and, perhaps, *banuka* have a unique referent and could therefore be used as a shorthand, leaving out the personal name. By contrast, *dukšiš* occurs only with explicit mention of the bearer of the title, as it could refer to at least three different royal women.⁴⁹ The exception is plural *dukšišbe*, ‘royal women’, which occurs without a personal name in reference to the daughters of Hystaspes. We suspect that the same is true for *misapušaš*, the Elamograph of Old Persian **viθapuça*, lit. ‘son of the house’. In the archive, the word occurs only in its plural form, *misapušašbe*. The single text that uses the term deals with meat rations for grooms of the horses and mules ‘of the king and of the princes’ (PF 1793). The title ‘prince’ only occurs here to contrast with ‘king’. The royal sons Iršama/Aršama 1, Irdapirzana (Artobarzanes), and Šerša (Xerxes) are attested in the archive, yet without mention of this title. If *misapušaš* were attested as a singular qualification for any of these, it would probably have qualified his name.⁵⁰

The document mentioning *misapušašbe*, PF 1793, dates to Dar.19 (503/2) and provides the earliest attestation of the title in Achaemenid context. Otherwise, it occurs in Demotic transcription (*wyspwtr*) and, in later periods, as a loanword in Parthian/Middle Persian (*wyspwhr*) and Sogdian (*wyspyδr*).

⁴⁸ For honorific titles such as *kadukabarra* (**gāθukabara*:- Tavernier 2007: 423 (4.4.7.51)) and *lipte-ku(k)tira* in the Fortification archive see Henkelman 2003: 117–22.

⁴⁹ *abbamuš* (and Babylonian *appamu*): Brosius 1996: 135–44, Tavernier 2007: 292 (4.2.1450), 474 (5.3.2.1), Henkelman 2010: 697, Henkelman 2018c: 33. *dukšiš*: Benveniste 1966: 43–4, Brosius 1996: 27–8, Tavernier 2007: 420 (4.4.7.34). *banuka*/**bānūkā*- (in the form *banukanabe*, ‘people of the *banuk*’, PF 1078): Brosius 1996: 49 n. 25, Tavernier 2007: 417 (4.4.7.16), Henkelman 2010: 697–8 n. 109.

⁵⁰ The plural form *misapušašbe* in PF 1793 represents an adaptation to Elamite morphology (with animate plural marker *-p*). In Aramaic ‘king and the princes’ once occurs in a greeting formula (TADAE A4.7:2–3; cf. Tuplin iii 36–7); it may have been a standard expression, but in PF 1793 it surely refers to a practical reality (animals of the king and of members of the royal household). On PF 1793 see Koch 1990: 225, Kuhrt 2007: 633–4, Henkelman 2011c: 105–6, 111, 136–7. For the *dukšišbe* . . . *puhu Mišdašba pakbe*, ‘royal women . . . girls, daughters of Hystaspes’ in PFa 16:13–16 and, in broken context, in Fort. 1254-101:09’–11’, 12’f. and Fort. 0472-101:32–4 see Henkelman 2003: 148–9, Henkelman 2017a: 323 ad 12’f., Henkelman n.d. 3.

As we have posited (§4.2), the seal of Aršāma must have been carved around the same time that PF 1793 was drafted, towards the end of the sixth century. The seal inscription provides the earliest attestation of *br byt*’, a calque on **viθapuça*, ‘son of the house’. The Late Babylonian pendent of the calque is DUMU.É = *mār bīti*, which occurs regularly in the Murašû archive in the second half of the fifth century.⁵¹

In strict sense **viθapuça* and its (near-)equivalents presumably imply a connection to the king and the royal house, even if this connection was an indirect one. Particularly in the case of Aramaic *br byt*’ and Akkadian *mār bīti* this statement requires qualification. These expressions may carry a more general sense, especially in the expression ‘son of the house of PN’, which points to affiliation with a particular household (cf. Tuplin iii 31–8). When used without qualification, however, and certainly in a seal inscription, the title is used in its full regal sense, expressing membership of the house *par excellence*. This is also how Aršāma 2 introduces himself in the addresses on the *verso* of at least three of his letters in the Bodleian collection (A6.3 A6.4, A6.7; perhaps A6.5): ‘From Aršāma the prince to PN’. In the main body of the same documents, he simply introduces himself by name (‘from Aršāma to PN’) and when himself addressed, his style is *mr’y*, ‘my lord’, rather than ‘prince’. This divergence tallies well with the sporadic use of titles in Fortification archive, which, as stated before, may have contrasted with an external reality in which the same titles were more regularly and more formally used. In the case of the Bodleian letters that external reality would have included the handling trajectory from the addressor to the addressee. A third corpus fits the same pattern: of the thirteen Aršāma 2-related documents in the Murašû archive, only one refers to him as DUMU.É = *mār bīti* (BE 9.1:6, 19–20 (date: 31 October 404), Pirngruber i 311–4 (no. 5)). Whereas the title was apparently not of crucial importance in the written documentation kept by the Murašû firm, it simultaneously was known to its members and presumably carried weight in the social milieu in which they operated.⁵² We believe that the inclusion of Aršāma’s title on his seal fits the same context.

⁵¹ For **viθapuça*- and the ‘Median’ dialectal variant **vis(a)puθra*- see Tavernier 2007: 436 (4.4.7.127, 4.4.7.129) (cf. Av. *visōpuθra*-). Note also the personal names **Visapuθra*- and **Viθapuça*- reflected in Elamite Miššapušra/Miššaputra and Misapušša (Tavernier 2007: 351f. (4.2.1915), 355 (4.2.1934)). Apart from DUMU.É = *mār bīti*, Late Babylonian also has *umasipitrû*, a transcription of the adjectival derivation **vāsapuθrava*-, ‘crown-princely’. For *br byt*’, DUMU.É = *mār bīti* and *umasipitrû* see Stolper 1985: 59–62, Tavernier 2007: 434 (4.4.7.120), Tavernier iii 84. For *wyspwhr* in P.Cair. 31174, an undated Demotic document from the Persian or early Ptolemaic period, see Vittmann 1991/2 (also Vittmann 2004: 131). Tuplin iii 31–8 offers a detailed discussion of the uses of *br byt*’ and its (near-)equivalents. Note that Parthian *wyspwhr* is usually written BRBYTA, thus continuing the connection between **viθapuça*-/**vis(a)puθra* and *br byt*’.

⁵² Driver (1954: 7) believed that the restriction of the title *br byt*’ to the *verso* addresses of only these three letters of the satrap Aršāma 2 marked the relatively high status of the addressee,

4.4. Layouts of Aramaic Inscriptions in the Persepolis Archives

In addition to language and formula, inscriptions on seals from the Fortification archive are characterized by distinctive methods of display. Both Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic can be divided into two broad categories of inscription layout. In the first, applied on the seal of Aršāma, the letters/signs of the inscription float freely in the field. In the other, the letters/signs of the inscription are contained within a panel; when more than one line of text is involved, there are generally case lines. A handful of inscriptions may be said to deploy a mixture of these two broad types, i.e. free-floating letters/signs with case lines but without panel (e.g. PFS 0004*).⁵³

Among the forty-six seals that bear Aramaic inscriptions from Persepolis, forty-three from the Fortification archive and three from the Treasury archive, the more common layout is free-floating letters.⁵⁴ Within the two broad categories of layouts, free-floating and panelled, one can further distinguish the inscriptions by orientation (horizontal or vertical with respect to the seal image) and placement (terminal field and/or dispersed in the figural field). The following sub-categories may be defined:

A. free-floating

A.1. horizontal

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| A.1.1. full terminal field | PFS 0082* (Figs. 2.60–2.61) |
| A.1.2. upper terminal field | PFS 2084* (Figs. 2.14–2.15) |
| A.1.3. upper and middle
terminal field | PFATS 0022*, PFUTS 0559*, PFUTS 1217* |
| A.1.4. upper and lower
terminal field | PFS 1633* |

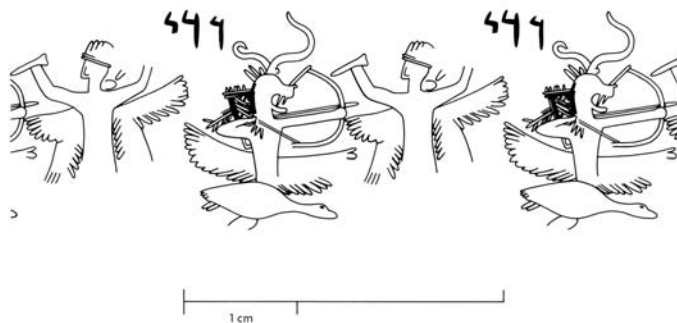
Artavanta, as letters to other addressees do not have the title in the *verso* address (A6.8, A6.10, A6.11–13). While this is true, these other addressees seem to be people belonging to Aršāma's household; the protocol involved may well have been different in this case. See also Tuplin i 63 n. 6, iii 28, 31–2, Tavernier iii 84. Note that another individual mentioned in the Bodleian Aršāma letters, *Wrwhy* (*Vāravahyā or *Vāruvahyā), is once referred to as *br byt'* (A6.13), which here presumably means 'prince'. Driver (1965: 14) suggested that *Wrwhy* was a son, or some other relative, of Aršāma 2. The title *br byt'* is restored in a fragmentary letter (D6.7), where it qualifies *Wrps* (*Virafša-); on this person see A6.15:1(1) n.

⁵³ Garrison and Root 2001: 411–13 (cat. no. 292).

⁵⁴ See also above, n. 38, for the glyptic evidence from the Treasury archive, which is here included. Of forty-six Aramaic inscriptions (inclusive of both Persepolitan archives), twenty-nine employ the free-floating layout, fifteen are enclosed in panels, and two employ only case lines. Given the poor preservation of both the inscription and the figural imagery, the exact placement of the inscription on PFATS 0130* cannot be determined. For the moment, we count it as a free-floating inscription, but it does not appear in the list that follows. The one preserved letter appears to be oriented horizontally.

A.1.5. middle and lower terminal field	PFUTS 0264*
A.1.6. upper figural field	PFS 0123*, PFS 1612* (Figs. 2.16–2.17), PFS 2899* (Fig. 2.1), PFUTS 1546*s, PFUTS 1610*, PTS 30* (Figs. 2.18–2.19)
A.1.7. middle and lower figural field	PFUTS 0230* (Figs. 2.12–2.13), PFUTS 0234*, PFUTS 1623*
A.1.8 upper and lower figural field	PFUTS 0336* (Figs. 2.8–2.9)
A.2. vertical	
A.2.1. full terminal field	PFS 0164* (Figs. 2.20–2.21), PFS 0815*, PFS 3293*, PFUTS 0019*, PFUTS 0114*, PFUTS 0232*, PFUTS 0305*, PTS 20*, PTS 39*
A.2.2. in middle field	PFS 0009*
A.3. circular	
A.3.1. along border	PFUTS 0563*s
B. panel	
B.1. horizontal	
B.1.1. full terminal field	PFS 0016* (Figs. 2.4–2.5), PFS 0054*, PFS 0071* (Figs. 2.6–2.7), PFS 0981*, PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67), PFS 2106* (Figs. 2.10–2.11), PFS 2361*, PFUTS 1555*
B.1.2. upper figural field	PFS 0083* (Figs. 2.22–2.23)
B.2. vertical	
B.2.1. full terminal field	PFS 0066a*, PFS 0066b*, PFS 0066c*, PFS 0266*, PFS 0535*, PFATS 0024*
C. case lines (no panel)	
C.1. horizontal	
C.1.1. terminal field	PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26)
C.2. vertical	
C.2.1. terminal field	PFUTS 1530*

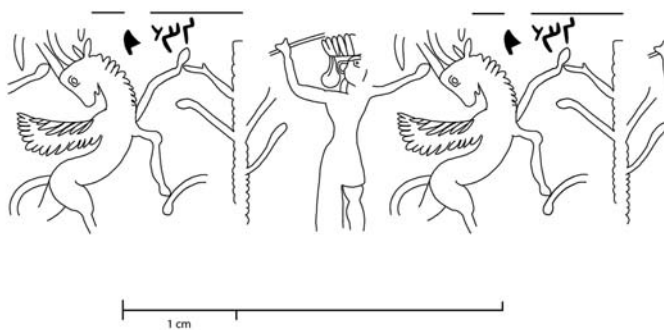
As with the inscriptional formulae, one is struck by the diversity of inscriptional display at Persepolis. No one display format has overwhelming numerical superiority. The preferred orientation is horizontal (twenty-eight examples, as opposed to seventeen examples that are vertically oriented), the preferred placement somewhere in the terminal field (thirty-two examples, as opposed to



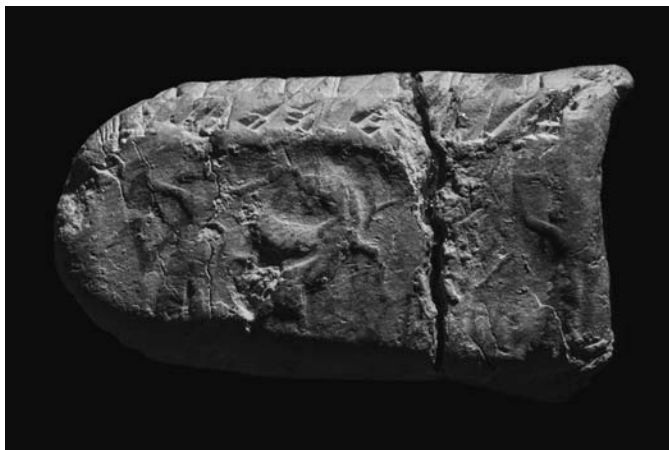
2.14. Collated line drawing of PFS 2084*.



2.15. Impression of PFS 2084* on the reverse of NN 2295.



2.16. Collated line drawing of PFS 1612*. Drawing by Christina Chandler.



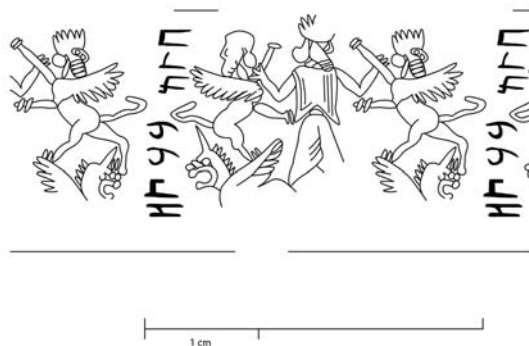
2.17. Impression of PFS 1612* on the reverse of PF 2050.



2.18. Collated line drawing of PTS 30*.



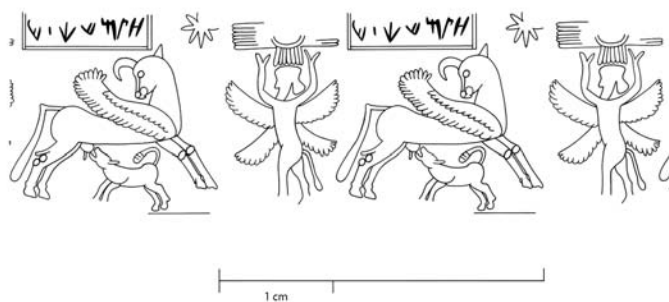
2.19. Impression of PTS 30* on the left edge of PT 30 (A23294). Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



2.20. Collated line drawing of PFS 0164*.



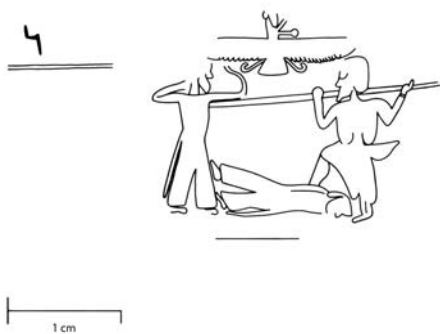
2.21. Impression of PFS 0164* on the left edge of PF 0969.



2.22. Collated line drawing of the first seal of Ziššawiš, PFS 0083*.



2.23. Impression of PFS 0083* on the left edge of PF 1811.



2.24. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0273*.



2.25. Impression of PFUTS 0273* on the obverse of PFUT 0485-201.



2.26. Impression of PFUTS 0273* on the obverse of PFUT 0550-201.

thirteen examples that are dispersed within the figural field).⁵⁵ Of those Aramaic seal inscriptions that occur in panels, only one, that on PFS 0083* (Figs. 2.22–2.23), appears in a space other than the terminal.⁵⁶ Free-floating Aramaic inscriptions commonly occur in the terminal field (eighteen of twenty-nine seals), but placement within the figural imagery is also well attested (eleven seals).

We reckon the inscription on the seal of Aršāma to occur in the upper field of the figural design. Both lines of the inscription extend, however, into the small zone that constitutes what we would identify as the terminal field in this design (see also the comments below). Nonetheless, the great bulk of the inscription lies in the figural field; indeed, there appears to have been a concerted effort to place the inscription as close as possible to the principal protagonist, even if that placement disrupts the visual ‘balance’ of the upper field.⁵⁷ The placement of the Aramaic inscription on one other seal at Persepolis exhibits a similar visual dynamic wherein the inscription, confined to the upper

⁵⁵ The Aramaic inscription on PFUTS 0563*s runs around the edge of the circular stamp face; it has thus not been included in the reckoning of inscription orientation and placement. See also above, n. 54, for the assumption that the one letter preserved on PFATS 0130* is oriented horizontally (but its placement within the figural design cannot be determined).

⁵⁶ For this seal and its inscription, see Garrison (2017c: 339–51). The layout of the inscription on PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67) is intriguing. Unfortunately, collation of the preserved impressions does not yield a full rolling of the scene. A large panelled inscription (in Aramaic) is clearly indicated behind the archer to the left (in what would appear to be the terminal field). At far right of the preserved scene there are two lines of inscription (in a panel with case lines) that appear above the extended forelegs of the caprid, as if, thus, in the upper figural field. One of two explanations seems possible. The panel for the inscription may be in the form of an inverted L (this would be a unique format), or the legs of the caprid may have extended into the rectangular panel of the inscription in the terminal field—an unusual phenomenon for panelled inscriptions, but not unknown: see, for example, the panelled Elamite inscription on PFS 0706*.

⁵⁷ As so placed, the inscription creates a large negative space in the upper field above the horse behind the standing antagonist.

field, interfaces with both the figural imagery and the terminal field.⁵⁸ The one-line Aramaic inscription on PFS 1612* (Figs. 2.16–2.17) apparently starts in the terminal field and extends to the left into the figural imagery, running over the rampant winged bull held by the hero.⁵⁹ The two-line Aramaic inscription on PFUTS 0336* (Figs. 2.8–2.9), placed in the upper and lower fields, starts in the figural imagery and runs across the upper terminal field back into the figural imagery and then picks up again in the lower field.⁶⁰ Lastly, one should also note the placement of the one-line Aramaic inscription on PTS 30* (Figs. 2.18–2.19), whose figural scene has much in common with the seal of Aršāma (discussed in more detail below). As preserved, the inscription appears to have been placed in the upper field so as to be as close as possible to the principal protagonist, just as appears to be the case with the inscription on the seal of Aršāma.⁶¹

In conclusion, the Aramaic inscription on the seal of Aršāma accords with various patterns seen in Aramaic seal inscriptions from Persepolis: inscriptional formula, inclusion of a title, free-floating letters, and placement within the upper field of the design.

4.5. Style

The human and animal forms on the seal of Aršāma are large and deeply carved, but rendered in a very reductive manner.⁶² That is, we have a restrained modelled approach to carving. Modelled form is achieved simply through the large size of the figures, the deep carving, and the rounded forms. There is little or no attempt to indicate musculature *via* the rising and swelling of mass within select passages or the sharp articulation of one body part from another. For example, musculature is indicated in the human arms and legs (admittedly, all figures wear trousers) and the hindquarters of the horses simply by the rounded

⁵⁸ The two-line Aramaic inscription on PFATS 0022* is rather interestingly placed. The scene is a heroic combat encounter, in which a hero holds a curved scimitar in one hand while grasping a rampant winged creature with his other hand. Behind this combat encounter is a bull marchant. The inscription is placed in the upper field over this bull, but the second line actually starts under the wing of the rampant winged creature. One could identify the bull marchant and inscription as constituting the terminal field (as we have done here in the list above). The design is, however, rather tightly interlaced, and one could reckon the bull as part of the central scene (rather than a separate element in the terminal field). The inscription reads *h'ṛṭ[m] lknwny*, 'seal belonging to Kanuni.'

⁵⁹ The reading of the inscription is uncertain: *w'ṛṣ'mn*. Presumably this is a personal name.

⁶⁰ For the inscription, see above p. 70.

⁶¹ The inscription does not appear, however, to have continued into the terminal field of the design. Currently we can read *ṛd'rgṛw'š*, perhaps rendering *Dargāyuš (see also below, n. 88).

⁶² Stylistic features of the carving of the seal of Aršāma are best seen in the impressions on the letter-*bullae* from the Bodleian.

contours. In modelled styles of carving in Persepolitan glyptic these passages are often marked by the articulation of muscular mass. One is struck also by the plain treatment of the surfaces; there is little attempt to indicate detail in, for example, garments, beards, or wings.

The principal features of the carving style, large figures deeply carved with plain surface treatment, are characteristics of a particular carving style in Persepolitan glyptic that we have called Mixed Styles I. This particular style appears to combine elements of various modelled styles of carving with the dominant local style of carving, what we have called the Fortification Style.⁶³

4.6. Theme and Iconography: Human Combat

It has often been stated that scenes of combat between humans, sometimes called warfare or scenes of military encounter, are rare in Achaemenid art. This is certainly true of imperial monumental sculpture, where only the relief at Bīsotūn may be said to have a martial flavour; it does not depict, however, combat *per se*, but an imaginary scene in which Gaumāta and the rebel-kings appear together in time and space, the former lying below the king's foot, the latter standing and presented before Darius.⁶⁴ The scene is thus one of military triumph, not military action *per se*.

There are, however, a substantial number of scenes on seals that show humans in what can be described as realistic combat.⁶⁵ Indeed, in comparison to the glyptic from earlier periods, combat scenes on seals from the Achaemenid period are plentiful. Unfortunately, many of these seals, generally those most often illustrated, are unprovenanced and poorly dated. There is, however, an interesting series of scenes of human combat on seals preserved in the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives. Given their spatial and temporal proximity to the seal of Aršāma, the following discussion will favour this material.⁶⁶ The Babylonian archives of Achaemenid date are another important source of

⁶³ On the style, see Garrison 1988: 244–58, Garrison and Root 2001: 19. We see nothing in the carving style to support Balzer's attribution of the seal to the Court Style (2007: 3.79).

⁶⁴ It is sometimes mistakenly implied that the scene is 'historical'. In fact, the rebel leaders were never brought together into one place, but, as stated in the inscription, were killed separately at various places, at various times, and, in fact, by various generals of Darius I. See Root (1979: 186–8) on the relief as a 'visual précis' that 'illuminates' rather than 'illustrates'.

⁶⁵ Note the comments of Wu 2010: 548. Whether or not the combat scenes depicted on seals are a reflection of some lived experience, a snapshot of an actual historical event so to say, is a very different matter (see also the comments below). Tuplin 2020 offers a catalogue of scenes of human combat in Achaemenid glyptic including sixty-seven seals. We thank Christopher Tuplin for allowing us to consult this study prior to publication.

⁶⁶ The analysis that follows makes no attempt at a systematic review either of the images that show human combat in the Achaemenid period or of the modern scholarly literature on the *realia* and significance of those scenes, for which see now Tuplin 2020.

contextualized glyptic scenes that show human combat.⁶⁷ That material is, however, considerably removed in time and space from late sixth-century Persepolis.

The figural composition on the seal of Aršāma is quite sophisticated (Fig. 2.1). There are three horizontal zones within the design. In the lowest are three dead enemy combatants, placed head to toe and stretching along the full length of the scene. The three dead figures provide a platform for the two standing combatants and their horses in the middle zone; this zone is distinguished also by the use of ‘free-floating’ objects, a bow and a cap, in the space between the two combatants. In the upper zone are the winged ring-in-disk, crescent, and inscription.

The figural elements in the lower and middle zones exhibit a carefully balanced symmetry; reading from left to right:

horse	protagonist	adversary	horse
dead combatant	dead combatant	dead combatant	dead combatant

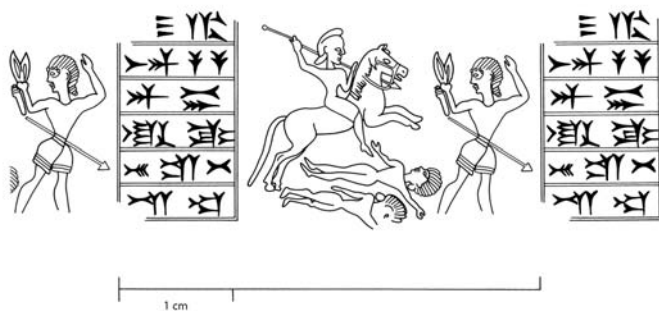
The figural elements in the upper zone are, however, slightly askew in relationship to the carefully balanced symmetry of the middle and lower zones. The winged ring-in-disk, which one would expect to lie along the central vertical axis of the design (in the middle of the space between the two combatants), in fact is offset to right, almost aligning with the standing adversary at right in the middle zone. This design feature may have been dictated by the desire to have two numinous entities in the upper field, the crescent and the winged ring-in-disk, and/or to have the principal protagonist at a larger scale than his adversary. As noted above, the inscription is weighted to the right, leaving a large blank space in the upper field to the left of the inscription.⁶⁸ We tentatively suggest that this placement was in fact not haphazard but intended to anchor the inscription as close as possible visually to the principal protagonist.

One is struck in particular by the dense vertical stacking of figural elements on the seal of Aršāma. Such a compositional trope, outside of scenes that contain pedestal creatures (below), is rare in Persepolitan glyptic.⁶⁹ One thinks immediately of the two famous heirloom seals from the Fortification archive, PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.27–2.30) and PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32). On PFS 0051, a

⁶⁷ See Balzer 2007: 1.151–64 and 2.1 (scene type A1).

⁶⁸ This observation assumes that the inscription as we have it is, in fact, complete. This seems reasonable, as it is difficult to imagine what other words could have followed Aršāma’s name in the first line or *byr’* in the second line.

⁶⁹ One should note in this regard the often illustrated chalcedony cylinder seal said to be from the ‘Oxus Treasure’ (Merrillees 2005: 70 (no. 66), pl. 25), now in the British Museum (BM 124015). The design shows two scenes of combat that take place over the dead bodies of three enemies laid along the bottom of the design. The murky circumstances and material surrounding this seal, including a replica in gold (whereabouts now unknown) and a knock-off of the scene on a gold sheet now in Vienna (Bleibtreu 1998), are well known (see e.g. Wu 2005: 81–3). The gold sheet is clearly modern, as probably also the gold seal. Almost all modern commentators treat the chalcedony cylinder seal (BM 124015) as a genuine ancient artefact, but clearly caution is required.



2.27. Collated line drawing of PFS 0093*.



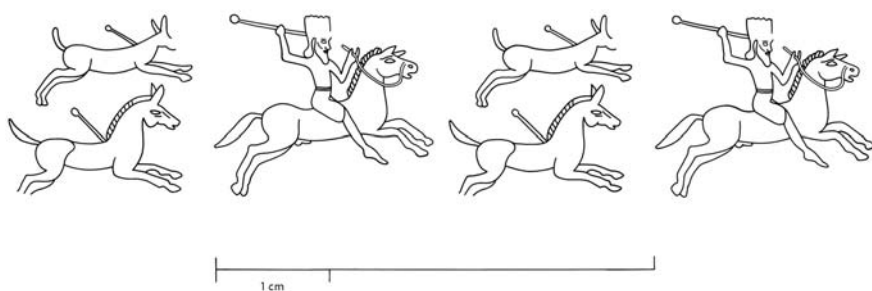
2.28. Impression of PFS 0093* on the upper edge of Fort. 1642-001.



2.29. Impression of PFS 0093* on the reverse of PF 0692.



2.30. Impression of PFS 0093* on the left edge of NN 1525.



2.31. Collated line drawing of PFS 0051.



2.32. Impression of PFS 0051 on the reverse of PF 0736.

hunt from horseback, there are two equids stacked one over the other. On PFS 0093*, a scene of human combat, there are two dead adversaries stacked one above the other, over which rides the principal protagonist, a horseman with spear. PFS 0093* and the seal of Aršāma also share a dynamic diagonal axis running through the composition: the extremely long spear in the seal of Aršāma; the two spears on PFS 0093*, one held by the horseman, the other piercing the waist of the standing figure.

Although the seal of Aršāma and the heirloom seals PFS 0051 and PFS 0093* are separated by at least a hundred years in their date of manufacture (see discussion below), they share select iconographic features. The horsemen on PFS 0051 and PFS 0093* use a spear, as does the principal protagonist on the seal of Aršāma. On both PFS 0093* and the seal of Aršāma, the weapon that marks the adversary is the bow and arrow.⁷⁰ On both PFS 0093* and the seal of Aršāma, the bow of the adversary is damaged.

The compositional trope of stacking of figures appears in another scene of human combat from Persepolis, PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26). The imagery on the seal is conceptually close to that on the seal of Aršāma. In the preserved part of the design—the main scene and a small fragment of an inscription in the terminal field—there is a dead enemy combatant lying horizontally in the lower field, head at right; to either side of this dead figure is a standing combatant. The dead combatant wears ankle-length trousers, probably also some type of coat; a long thin piece of cloth depends from his waist at back, presumably part of the coat. The head is flattened on top with a short point at the front; these features may suggest a pointed cap or simply be dictated by the constricted space in this passage. A long oval-shaped mass of hair is at the back of his neck.

⁷⁰ On the seal of Aršāma, the string of the bow clearly is not contiguous. We read this peculiarity as another manner of indicating that the bow has been disabled (emphasizing the disarming/destruction of the enemy combatants), perhaps unstrung, cut, or otherwise damaged. Of course, the principal protagonist on the seal of Aršāma wears a bow-and-arrow case, indicating that the bow is not coded exclusively as ‘foreign’ but certainly it appears to be one of the primary characteristics of the defeated enemy on the seal of Aršāma. The phenomenon may be similar to the depiction of Elamites on Neo-Assyrian wall relief, where the bow, while the principal marker of Elamite military might, is used also by the Assyrians. This is illustrated most famously in the scenes of Assurbanipal’s battle of Til-Tūba, on the River Ulai, against Te-Umman, king of Elam, preserved in both the Southwest Palace and the North Palace at Nineveh. Both versions of the battle include a vignette of an Elamite cutting his bow. The one from room I in the North Palace (BM 124941, a large fragment from slab 1 or 2; Barnett 1976: pl. 24) is accompanied by an epigraph: ‘Ituni, the *šūt rēši* of Te-Umman, king of Elam, whom he insolently sent against me, saw my powerful onslaught. With his own hand he drew the iron dagger from his belt and cut his bow, the sign of his strength’ (Russell 1999: 182, for the translation). On the bow, and broken bow, as signs of the enemy and broken military power, see the comments in Garrison 2011a: 391–4, Waters 2011: 290–1, and Álvarez-Mon n.d.

The principal protagonist (at right) on PFUTS 0273* raises his forward leg to step upon the chest or back of the dead combatant while driving, with both hands, a long spear into the chest of his adversary. He wears the Persian court robe. Two swags of drapery represent the gathered folds on the sleeves that have been pushed up to reveal the bare arms; the hem of the lower part of the garment rides up at knee level on the raised forward leg revealing the lower leg. A bow-and-arrow case is attached horizontally at his waist. The principal protagonist furthermore has a short, pointed beard; a small round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. There is a bracelet indicated on his left wrist.

His adversary (at left) stands facing to right, shooting a bow and arrow (only partially preserved). The bowman appears to be dressed identically to the dead combatant in the lower field, a coat with long thin tail worn over ankle-length trousers. He has a long blunt-pointed beard that falls to his shoulder. The hair (and most of the head) is not preserved.

In the upper field, centred on the vertical axis of the main confrontation, is a partial figure within a winged device, probably a ring or a disk (preservation is very poor in this passage). The figure looks to right, towards the principal protagonist. He raises one arm upwards before his face (the hand is not preserved). The other arm is extended along the top of the wing to hold a ring.

Lastly, a single Aramaic letter and part of one case line are preserved in the upper part of the terminal field. The exact extent and method of display of the original inscription are unknown. The single preserved letter may be a *nun*.

Compositionally, PFUTS 0273* thus shares with the seal of Aršāma distinct horizontal zones, stacking of figures, two standing male figures engaged in combat, the principal one driving a spear into the chest of the other while stepping upon a dead combatant, an Aramaic inscription (perhaps limited to the upper field in both instances), and a winged symbol in the upper field.⁷¹

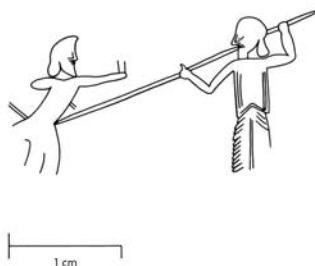
PFUTS 0273* additionally shares several important iconographic features with the seal of Aršāma. Its principal protagonist wears a bow-and-arrow case and uses a spear, as does his counterpart on the seal of Aršāma. The adversary on PFUTS 0273* shoots a bow and arrow, analogous to the 'broken' bow of the adversary on the seal of Aršāma (and PFS 0093*). The adversaries on PFUTS 0273*, the standing bowman and the dead one, wear ankle-length trousers and some type of over-garment, probably a long coat. The coat has a long, thin element that hangs down from the waist at the back; this feature would appear to be something similar to the pointed 'tails' of the coats that the adversaries wear on the seal of Aršāma. We may have to do here with the same type of garment, although rendered somewhat differently on the two seals. The dead combatant on PFUTS 0273*, the only one of the two adversaries whose head

⁷¹ Given that the lower part of the terminal field on PFUTS 0273* is not preserved, we may leave open the possibility of another dead combatant in this zone.

is preserved, seems to wear a pointed cap, as do the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma. Lastly, both designs employ a winged symbol in the upper field; that on PFUTS 0273* has a partial human figure who extends a ring towards the principal protagonist.⁷²

One is struck, thus, by the similarity in overall design and iconographic details between PFUTS 0273* and the seal of Aršāma. The only significant difference between the two scenes is that the principal protagonist on PFUTS 0273* wears the Persian court robe, his counterpart on the seal of Aršāma a knee-length tunic/coat over ankle-length trousers. Additionally, the winged symbol on PFUTS 0273* has a partial human figure, its counterpart on the seal of Aršāma is a winged ring-in-disk (cf. below). It is unfortunate that the inscription on PFUTS 0273* is not preserved and that the seal occurs only on uninscribed tablets.⁷³ The similarity between PFUTS 0273* and the seal of Aršāma, coupled with the distinctiveness and rarity of such human combat imagery in the Fortification archive, suggest that PFUTS 0273* also belonged to an individual of some considerable rank and/or status.⁷⁴

The imagery on PTS 29 (Figs. 2.33–2.35) from the Treasury archive is very similar in concept to that on the seal of Aršāma and PFUTS 0273*.⁷⁵ The scene



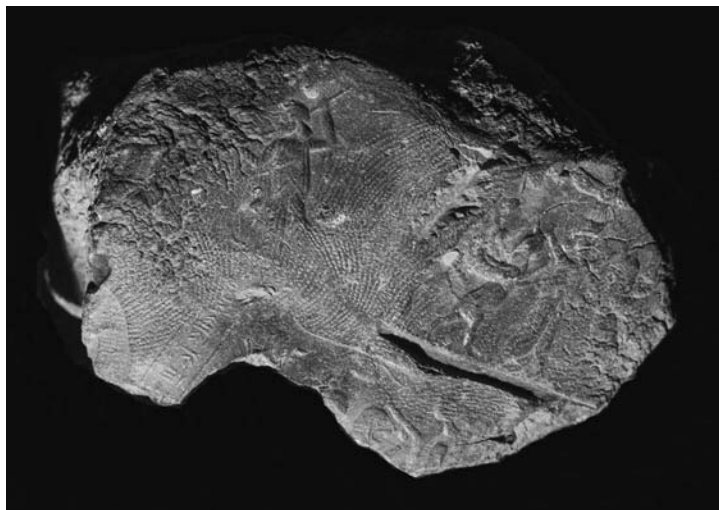
2.33. Collated line drawing of PTS 29.

⁷² The figure in the winged symbol holding a ring is, of course, a conspicuous feature in monumental reliefs at Bisotūn, Naqš-e Rostam, and Persepolis (although on structures post-dating the time of Darius), always extending the ring to the king (Bisotūn: Root 1979: pl. 6; Naqš-e Rostam: Schmidt 1970: pls. 19, 22B; Persepolis: Schmidt 1953: pls. 75–9 (Central Building/Tripylon), 103–4, 107 (Hall of 100 Columns), 159–60 (Palace of Xerxes)). There is now also a handful of seal images from the Persepolis Fortification archive that show the figure in the winged symbol extending a ring to a crowned figure (discussed in some detail in Garrison n.d. 1; see also Garrison n.d. 3).

⁷³ The Elamite and Aramaic texts from both Persepolitan archives often provide insights into the owner(s)/user(s) of seals applied to them.

⁷⁴ It is worth noting that PFS 0273* occurs on four uninscribed tablets (PFUT 0485–201, PFUT 0500–201, PFUT 1508–204, PFUT 1390–203) in each case in the single-seal protocol (i.e. only one seal is applied to the tablet). This sealing protocol is often indicative of high administrative rank at Persepolis (see the discussion in Garrison 2017c: 52–67).

⁷⁵ Schmidt 1957: 11, 17, 29, pl. 9. See also Wu 2005: 65–6 (cat. 1.2), Wu 2010: 552, fig. 51.7, Wu 2014: 244–5, Tuplin 2020: 356–7, 359, 366, 390 (cat. no. 2), fig. 2.



2.34. Impression of PTS 29 on the label PT4 980 (A23374) from the Treasury, Persepolis.



2.35. Impression of PTS 29 on the label PT4 1021 (A23383) from the Treasury, Persepolis.

is only partially preserved.⁷⁶ A standing combatant at right drives a long spear, held with both hands, into the abdomen of an archer at left. The spearman, the principal protagonist, wears the Persian court robe.⁷⁷ He has a thick squared beard; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair is at the back of his head. He does not appear to wear a headdress. The archer appears to wear trousers; the upper garment cannot be determined with any precision. Schmidt (1957: 29), who would have had access to all impressions of the seal, stated simply ‘coat and trousers distorted, perhaps of Median type’, apparently taking the extension at the back of the waist as the tail of the coat.⁷⁸ Alternatively, the extension at the back of the waist may be a bow-and-arrow case attached horizontally at his waist. He has a short pointed beard; a mass of hair rests on his shoulder at the back of his neck. He wears a soft cap that comes to a point at the front of the head. There is a thin object extending upwards from the back of his waist, perhaps a dagger sheath. Schmidt (1957: 29) suggested that there may be a ‘dead foe’ lying horizontally in the field between the two combatants; the evidence from the seal of Aršāma and PFUTS 0273* would offer support for this suggestion.⁷⁹

As with the seal of Aršāma and PFUTS 0273*, we see on PTS 29 a spearman who drives a spear held with both hands into the chest of an archer. Like the principal protagonist on PFUTS 0273*, the spearman on PTS 29 wears the Persian court robe. Although PTS 29 occurs only on undated labels from the Treasury, its visual resonances with the seal of Aršāma and PFUTS 0273* must surely indicate that it dates to the reign of Darius.⁸⁰

One other seal from the Fortification archive, PFS 2454 (Figs. 2.36–2.37), may be grouped with the seal of Aršāma, PFUTS 0273*, and PTS 29, even though the scene exhibits several notable differences from those seals. As with the previous seals, two human figures are engaged in combat. An archer stands at left shooting towards a

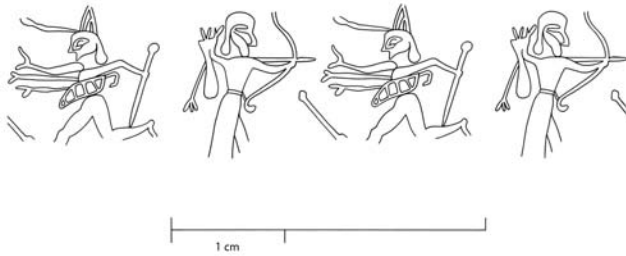
⁷⁶ The collated line drawing, Fig. 2.33, is based upon only two of the five documents on which PTS 29 occurs, the labels PT4 980 (A23374; Fig. 2.34) and PT4 1021 (A23383; Fig. 2.35); these labels are now housed at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

⁷⁷ Like Tuplin 2020: 390, we cannot understand Wu’s suggestion (2005: 84 n. 220, Wu 2010: 552, Wu 2014: 244) that the figure is wearing a ‘vest similar to that on PTS 0030’, which she describes as ‘typical Persian battle attire’, over a tunic. She identifies the spearman as a Central Asian, fighting in the Achaemenid army, engaged in combat with another Central Asian. There is, however, absolutely no question that the principal protagonist wears the Persian court robe.

⁷⁸ Tuplin 2020: 390 describes the garment as ‘a cut-away coat over trousers’. Unfortunately, the impressions on the labels now in Chicago do not offer any clarity on this passage.

⁷⁹ This possible ‘dead foe’ is preserved only on the impression of the seal on the label (PT4 830; see Schmidt 1957, pl. 9) now in Tehran and does not appear on the drawing here published (Fig. 2.33).

⁸⁰ Despite its being stylistically less accomplished than the seal of Aršāma and PFUTS 0273*, we would suggest local Fortification Style for the carving. Balzer (2007:3.79) classifies PTS 29 as Court Style, but this cannot be so, at least in the conventional understanding of that style. Wu (2010: 561–2 n. 20) dates PTS 29 to the early years of Xerxes, based on its association with other seals on labels from the Treasury. Compositional and stylistic characteristics of several seals from the Treasury archive indicate that, although they occur only on undated tablets and/or labels or tablets dating to the reign of Xerxes, they were most likely actually executed in the reign of Darius (see e.g. Garrison 2014a: 77–9, concerning the royal name seal PTS 01*); PTS 29 is most likely one of these seals that actually dates to the time of Darius I.



2.36. Collated line drawing of PFS 2454.



2.37. Impression of PFS 2454 on the reverse of NN 1478.

figure at right who holds a sword/spear and moves, apparently at a run, towards the archer (to left). The archer, the principal protagonist, wears a belted Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. On his back is a quiver, two arrows indicated in it; a long tassel with tripartite termination hangs from the back of the quiver. The archer has a long blunt-pointed beard that rests on his chest; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair is at the back of his neck. The legs of the swordsman at right, the adversary, are widely spaced as if in a running pose. He holds one arm slightly bent and extends it towards the bowman, the hand cupped outwards. He holds his other arm bent and extends it backwards, the hand holding a long sword or short spear. There is a circular termination at the top of the weapon. The swordsman appears to wear trousers.⁸¹ He wears a large pointed hat and has a large bow-and-arrow case at

⁸¹ The outlines of both legs are shown. While trousers are not definitively indicated, as e.g. on the combatants on the seal of Aršāma, the bow-and-arrow case and pointed hat suggest very strongly that he wore trousers. Moreover, a nude male figure would be exceptional in glyptic from the Fortification archive.

his waist; a curved element emerging from the top of the bow-and-arrow case appears to be the end of an unstrung bow. He has a short pointed beard; an oval-shaped mass of hair is at the back of his neck. Most remarkably, the swordsman has been hit by three arrows, one at the top of his head and two at his chest. In the lower field in front of this figure is what appears to be an arrow or spear (only partially preserved, placed diagonally in the field). Viewed in the context of the combat scenes on the previous seals, this element suggests that there may have been a dead figure lying horizontally in the lower field between the two combatants.

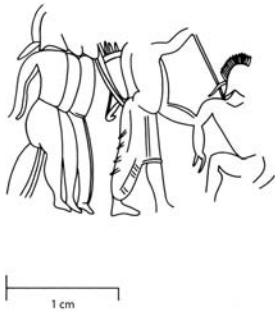
The victorious archer on PFS 2454 emphasizes that the bow and arrow, although associated with the defeated adversaries on the seal of Aršāma, PFUTS 0273* and PTS 29, did not exclusively code ‘the enemy’ in scenes of combat in Persepolitan glyptic. The Assyrian garment worn by the principal protagonist, while markedly different from the coat/tunic and trousers or Persian court garment worn by the victorious figures in the previous seals, is in fact the most common garment type in glyptic from the Fortification archive. The trousers, pointed hat, and bow-and-arrow case of the adversary on PFS 2454 clearly link him with the adversaries on the previous seals. The cutting style on PFS 2454 is very different from that seen on the previous seals. Here we have to do with a coarse and sketchy cutting style, one documented in Persepolitan glyptic but not commonly.

The seal of Aršāma, PFUTS 0273*, and PTS 29 would seem to represent a coherent and clearly defined ‘scene-type’. PFS 2425 may be considered a variation on that type. This ‘scene-type’ highlights various combinations of the following elements:

- two combatants confront each other in a one-on-one struggle;
- there are dead adversaries in lower field;
- the principal protagonist employs a spear;
- the adversaries wear trousers, coats/tunics with tails, and pointed hats;
- the principal protagonist and the adversaries may wear a bow-and-arrow case;
- the winged symbol may be present;
- inscriptions in Aramaic may be present.

The seal of Aršāma, PFUTS 0273*, and PTS 29 are similar in their compositions, share many distinctive iconographic features, and exhibit some similarities in style. While PFS 2454 shares features of composition and iconography with this group of seals, the garment and weapon of the principal protagonist and the cutting style set it apart.

There are three other combat scenes on seals from the Treasury archive: PTS 28 (Figs. 2.38–2.39), PTS 30* (Figs. 2.18–2.19), and PTS 31 (Fig. 2.40). PTS 28



2.38. Collated line drawing of PTS 28.



2.39. Impression of PTS 28 on the label PT4 865 (A23339) from the Treasury, Persepolis.

and PTS 31 are distinctively different in composition and iconography from the seal of Aršāma; these seals would then appear to form a second, and separate, tradition of depicting human combat in Persepolitan glyptic (see below). PTS 30*, in our opinion, occupies something of a transitional position, exhibiting some similarities in composition to the seal of Aršāma and related seals, but at the same time having several new features of iconography that are found in the scenes of human combat on PTS 28 and PTS 31.

PTS 30* (Figs. 2.18–2.19) is an exceptionally interesting design. Apparently two combatants are depicted.⁸² The principal protagonist, at left, of whom only

⁸² The scene is only partially preserved (Schmidt 1957: 29 and pl. 9, Head 1992: fig.14a, Wu 2005: 64–5 (cat.1.1), Wu 2010: 551, Wu 2014: 245, Tuplin 2020: 336, 341, 342–4, 353 n. 45, 356–7, 359, 366 ns. 78–80, 369, 373, 375–7, 380–1, 384, 385 n. 133, 388, 390, 403, 404, 408, 415, 418 n. 145, 421–2 (cat. no. 40), 423, 427, fig. 34). The seal occurs on two Elamite tablets from the archive, PT 30 (PT4 655 = A23294) and PT 32 (PT4 1014), both dated to year 16 of Xerxes (470/69). The drawing (Fig. 2.18) is based upon the one impression of PTS 30* on the left edge of PT 30 (Fig. 2.19), the only one of the two tablets now in Chicago.

2.40. Impressions of PTS 31 on the labels PT6 147 (top), PT6 62 (middle), and PT6 34 (bottom) from the Treasury, Persepolis. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



the upper body is preserved, holds his right arm bent and raises it upwards before his face, the hand grasping a spear that he drives into the shoulder of his adversary. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outwards at waist level, the hand and long thick fingers indicated, grasping the top of the shield held by his adversary. The spearman wears an elaborate cuirass with a high neck-guard; an arrow-shaped extension at the top of the neck-guard may be some type of weapon, standard, or decoration.⁸³ Of his garment, the only feature that is visible (as preserved) is a thin belt at his waist. A curved element extends downwards at the front of the waist, perhaps the end of the belt. A thin extension from the back of his waist may be a dagger sheath. Schmidt stated that the spearman wears a 'bashlyk' or 'helmet with chin-guard'.⁸⁴ The carving in the face is in fact quite detailed and one can clearly see a strap that runs across the cheek, coming to a point under the chin. Lips and the eye are sharply indicated. His adversary at right, of whom again only the upper body is preserved, holds one arm bent and extends it outwards at waist level, the hand grasping a large hemispherical shield; the shield has a raised border on its edge. He holds his other arm slightly bent and extends it upwards behind his head, the hand hold-

⁸³ Schmidt (1957: 29) suggested that this element may be the 'head of a battle-axe inserted in armour'. Tuplin (2020: 421) concurs. The cuirass (and inserted weapon) are found on a few other scenes of combat on unprovenanced seals of Achaemenid date (see Tuplin 2020: 366, 369).

⁸⁴ Tuplin (2020: 421) identifies the headgear simply as 'close-fitting'.

ing what appears to be a mace-like weapon.⁸⁵ Schmidt thought that the adversary's upper body was nude with perhaps a belted skirt over the lower body.⁸⁶ He has a short, blunt-pointed beard and a mass of hair at the back of his neck. In the terminal field there is a horse (only partially preserved at far left and right of the impression on PT 30) that stands facing to right, towards the principal protagonist; presumably it is to be associated with him. The horse has an elaborate T-shaped forelock and rows of curls at the top of its head. In the upper field between the horse's head and the principal protagonist is a figure in a winged device. The winged device consists of a large U-shaped element in which the partial figure is situated; there is a large bird's tail from either side of which curl two elongated tendrils. The partial figure faces to right; he holds one arm bent before his face (the hand is not preserved); he holds the other arm straight along the top of the wing, the hand grasping a 'three-lobed blossom'.⁸⁷ The partial figure wears the Persian court robe; the sleeves of the upper part of the garment are pushed up to reveal the arms. The sleeves are voluminous with multiple folds indicated. There are traces of five Aramaic letters running horizontally across the top of the design above the two combatants: 𐤠𐤌𐤒𐤍𐤕𐤔, perhaps rendering *Dargāyūš.⁸⁸ There is ample room for more letters in the upper field, especially to right. As noted, however, Aramaic inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic often simply indicate a personal name. The carving is exceptionally hard and precise.

PTS 30* shares with the seal of Aršāma and related images the basic two-figure combat scene-type and the protagonist's use of a spear. The horse behind the spearman and the Aramaic inscription, disposed free-floating in the upper field, are obviously also directly linked to the seal of Aršāma; the figure in the winged symbol recalls a similar symbol on PFUTS 0273*. Nevertheless, PTS 30* evokes a very different atmosphere from the previous seals. The protagonist's elaborate cuirass suggests a specialized military context, one different from that in which the principal protagonist wears the Persian court robe or a coat/tunic and trousers. Such a piece of specialized military garb is found on no scene of combat from the Fortification archive. The (potentially) naked torso

⁸⁵ Schmidt (1957: 29) thought of 'a club (or sword)'. The weapon has a long handle and a rounded top. Unfortunately, the surface of the tablet in the area where the top of this weapon occurs is damaged on the impression on PT 30, the one tablet housed at Chicago.

⁸⁶ Schmidt 1957: 29. Compare Wu (2005: 64–5), who identifies trousers, and Tuplin (2020: 421), who thinks of a tight-fitting garment as an alternative to nudity. The lower body, indeed any indication of a garment, is not preserved on the impression on PT 30.

⁸⁷ Schmidt 1957: 29. We could detect only two lobes on the impression on PT 30.

⁸⁸ The reading of the Aramaic, kindly communicated to us by Annalisa Azzoni, is tentative at best, given the poor preservation of the inscription on PT 30. For *Dargāyūš, see Tavernier 2007: 168 (4.2.501); the name is attested in Elamite as Tarkawiš and occurs in both the Fortification and Treasury archives.

and mace-like weapon of the adversary also strike a different tone from the scenes previously discussed.

The other two scenes of combat on seals from the Treasury archive, PTS 28 and PTS 31, introduce a distinctive compositional device, overlapping figures. The scene on PTS 28 (Figs. 2.38–2.39) is the more sophisticated of the two designs.⁸⁹ As it has often been cited and discussed, we give here only a general summary of the scene. The combat itself consists of a large standing figure, dressed in the Persian court robe and wearing a quiver on his back (probably also a bow), who drives a spear into the neck of a kneeling figure. The kneeling figure appears to wear only a plumed helmet and may hold a large circular shield in his left hand.⁹⁰ Behind the figure in the Persian court robe are three captives, depicted overlapping each other. These captives appear to have their hands bound behind their backs; their necks are bound with a rope that attaches to the waist of the standing figure dressed in the Persian court robe. Each of these captives wears a belted knee-length garment and a plumed helmet. Modern scholarly commentary almost universally identifies the captives and the adversary as Greeks based upon the plumed helmets, the short (or non-existent) garments, and the (proposed) round shield held by the kneeling adversary.

PTS 31 (Fig. 2.40) apparently has two pairs of individuals in combat, the individuals in each pair overlapping. Unfortunately, the one published impression of the seal on PT6 62 (here Fig. 2.40 (middle)) and the two previously unpublished impressions included here, on PT6 147 (Fig. 2.40 (top)) and PT6 34 (Fig. 2.40 (bottom)) are very poor.⁹¹ Of the two overlapping figures at left, Schmidt noted

⁸⁹ Schmidt 1957: 17, 29 and pl. 9, Wu 2014: 248, Tuplin 2020: 405–6 (cat. no. 20.1). The seal occurs on five uninscribed labels from the Treasury, only one of which, PT4 865 (A23339; Fig. 2.39), is now in Chicago. PTS 28 has often been identified with, or related to, various other seal impressions: an impression on a clay label from Persepolis (purportedly found outside of the Treasury, and now in the National Museum of Iran (no. 6580): Curtis and Tallis 2005: 231 no. 424); impressions of a cylinder seal found on two *bullae* now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Boston 1989.159 and unnumbered; the website for the museum mistakenly identifies the first as a stamp seal); impressions of a cylinder seal on at least twenty clay documents found by Tadjvidi in his excavations of the mountain fortifications (Tadjvidi 1976: figs. 140–2, Rahimifar 2005: pl. 18). Tuplin (2020: 332–4, 405–8) carefully sorts through this evidence. It is not known beyond any doubt how many seals we are dealing with: based upon published documentation, we can see no positive evidence to suggest more than one seal; all of these impressions would appear to have been made by the seal that we today identify as PTS 28. The drawing of PTS 28 here published (Fig. 2.38) is based upon examination of the one label in Chicago, PT4 865 (A23339; Fig. 2.39). The drawing does not include all details visible on the impressions of PTS 28 that Schmidt (1957: pl. 9) published from the Treasury at Persepolis.

⁹⁰ The shield is noted in Schmidt's (1957: 29) description, but not visible in any published photograph. One wonders whether Schmidt mistakenly conflated the circular outline of the edge of the impression of the stamp seal PTS 65s (Fig. 2.39), which is impressed over PTS 28, with the figural imagery on PTS 28.

⁹¹ Schmidt 1957: 30, pl. 9, Wu 2005: 67–8 (cat. 1.3), 70, Tuplin 2020: 336, 341 n. 29, 344, 346, 352–3, 355–7, 359, 373, 375–7, 406, 422–3 (cat. no. 41), 427, fig. 35. The seal is preserved on six uninscribed labels: PT5 807, PT5 820 (lost at sea), PT6 34 (ditto), PT6 62 (ditto), PT6 65, and PT6 147 (lost at sea). The two surviving labels are now in Tehran.

a ‘Persian tiara suggested on several impressions’ and one ‘arm raised in spear-thrusting position’. Of the two overlapping figures at right, he stated that each holds a shield in one hand and raises the other arm in a ‘spear-throwing position’ and wears a belted garment and ‘domed (Median?) headdress.’⁹²

PTS 28 and PTS 31 may reflect yet another convention of representing human combat in early Achaemenid glyptic arts. This convention is marked by specialized military equipment (as also seen on the transitional PTS 30*), Greek or Greek-like adversaries, and/or sophisticated overlapping of figures. PTS 28, PTS 30*, and PTS 31 all occur on tablets dated to the period of Xerxes. Stylistically, there is no reason to suggest that these seals date earlier than the reign of Xerxes. One suspects that the distinctive iconography and compositional format for rendering human combat in these seals originated only in the period after Darius I.

There is a handful of other scenes of human combat on seals from the Fortification archive. As these seals are mostly unpublished, it seems convenient to include them in this study. These scenes, both iconographically and compositionally, are quite distinct from that on the seal of Aršāma and related seals. They document yet other compositional formulae for rendering scenes of human combat in early Achaemenid glyptic.⁹³

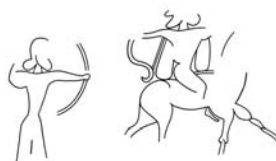
Three seals from the Fortification archive, PFS 2091, PFUTS 0251, and PFUTS 0802 involve human combat on horseback.⁹⁴ PFUTS 0251 (Figs. 2.41–2.42), unfortunately only partially preserved, appears to have been a remarkable scene.⁹⁵ A horseman rides to right while turning back to left to shoot a bow and arrow at a standing bowman at left. The horseman appears to wear the Persian court robe; a large swag of drapery, the pushed-up sleeves of the upper part of the garment, hangs to each side of his torso. He has a long pointed beard; a round mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The standing archer at left may wear the Assyrian garment, but preservation is very poor. The horseman uses a recurve bow, the standing archer probably also the same. The scene is noteworthy for the equestrian archer and for the fact that both combatants use a bow and arrow. The carving style is a version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style.

⁹² Schmidt 1957: 30. Wu (2005: 67–8 (cat.1.3), 70) identifies the garment as V-necked and links the headdress to the rounded and close-fitting headdress of the Chorasman on the Darius Statue; see Tuplin 2020: 422–3 for comments.

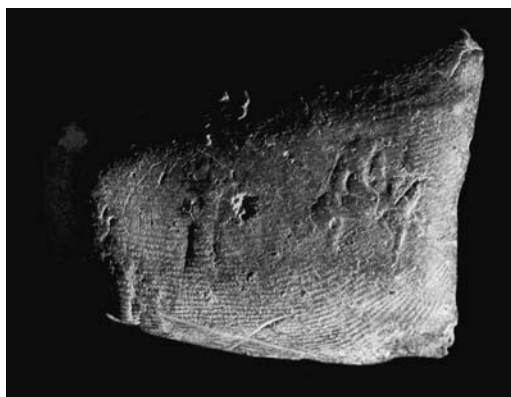
⁹³ For PFUTS 0251, see Tuplin 2020: 337 n. 23, 338, 340, 347, 348–51, 373 ns. 100 and 101, 376 n. 107, 285 n. 133, 386 n. 137, 437–8 (cat. no. 64), fig. 53.

⁹⁴ Also note the fragmentarily preserved PFUTS 0749; it certainly shows a horseman who may be holding weapons. The poor state of preservation does not allow us to say much about the nature of the scene. Two other seals, PFUTS 0081 and PFUTS 0728s, each show a single horseman; perhaps we are to understand them as warriors, but neither has an opponent. PFS 2124 may show three or four human figures in combat, but the scene is poorly preserved and one cannot with certainty determine the exact actions of the figures. There are two human figures on the stamp seal PFATS 0361s; one of them may hold a bow. The exact pose and action of the other figure cannot be determined and this figure stands behind the possible bowman.

⁹⁵ PFUTS 0251 occurs only on the obverse of PFUT 0166-202.



2.41. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0251.

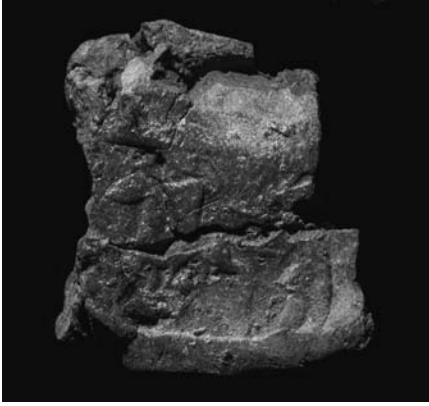


2.42. Impression of PFUTS 0251 on the obverse of PFUT 0166-202.

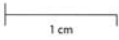


2.43. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0802.

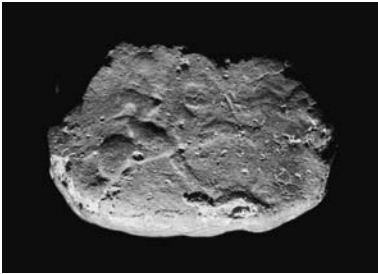
PFUTS 0802 (Figs. 2.43–2.44), although fragmentarily preserved, appears to show an armed horseman engaging with a standing archer. The horseman rides to left. One arm is preserved, bent and held to the right; he appears to hold a sword or spear in his hand. He has a long pointed beard. His garment cannot be determined. The archer stands at right facing to left. Parts of his bow and string are preserved. He appears to wear baggy ankle-length trousers. He has a long, pointed beard.



2.44. Impression of PFUTS 0802
on the obverse of PFUT 0661-201.



2.45. Collated line drawing of PFS 2091.



2.46. Impression of PFS 2091 on the left
edge of NN 2343.

Only a small segment of the scene on PFS 2091 (Figs. 2.45–2.46) is preserved; its inclusion here as a scene of human combat is provisional.⁹⁶ At left a horseman rides to right, shooting (to right) a bow and arrow. The horse is at a gallop, the forelegs raised together horizontally in front of its chest. His adversary is not preserved, only the raised forelegs of another horse(?) that has been hit in

⁹⁶ PFS 2091 occurs only on the left edge of NN 2343.

the chest by an arrow. The equestrian archer wears tight-fitting knee-length trousers. A dagger extends backwards from his waist. He appears to have a thick squared beard; a projection at the front of the head may suggest a head-dress, but the preservation in this passage is very poor.

The composition, the compact modelled style of carving, the smooth animal and human forms, the rider's garment, and the pose of the horse relate this seal directly with the heirloom seals PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32) and PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.27–2.30), and we suspect that PFS 2091 is from the same glyptic milieu as those two seals.⁹⁷ Given the fragmentary preservation, one must leave open the possibility that the scene is one of hunt, like that on PFS 0051, rather than a scene of human combat, like that on PFS 0093*. If human combat, it would be the only one in Persepolitan glyptic that involves two equestrian combatants.

Lastly, we mention briefly two other seals from the Fortification archive, PFS 2084* and PFUTS 0336*, the scenes of which involve fantastical creatures in combat with weapons. Although they fall outside the scope of realistic combat scenes, they are of interest owing to their related content.

PFS 2084* (Figs. 2.14–2.15) is a most remarkable scene.⁹⁸ At left, a composite creature, consisting of a winged horned lion-headed human torso rising from the back of a long-necked bird (goose?) in flight to right, shoots a bow and arrow at a winged human at right. The archer creature has two horns, one long and curved, like a bull, the other short and curled at its tip, like a caprid. The creature has its mouth open to reveal two long fangs. It has an elaborately detailed quiver on its back. The ends of five arrows are preserved in the quiver; an elaborate tassel hangs down from the back of the quiver. The bow is a simple curved bow. The winged human moves to left. He holds one arm slightly bent and extends it upwards before his face, the hand grasping a dagger that he directs towards the upper part of the bow wielded by the composite archer creature. He holds his other arm bent and raises it up behind his head; the hand is not preserved. Three letters of an Aramaic inscription, free-floating and oriented horizontally, are preserved in the upper terminal field; various readings are possible.⁹⁹

The scene on PFUTS 0336* (Figs. 2.8–2.9) is almost as striking as that on PFS 2084*.¹⁰⁰ A lion-headed human wrestles in combat with two human-headed winged bull-men (human heads and torsos, with bovine lower bodies), who wield spears. The lion creature, facing to right, stands in the centre of the conflict, a bull-man to each side. He holds one arm bent and extends it before his chest to grasp the spear of the bull-man at right. He holds his other arm straight

⁹⁷ For an extended discussion, see Garrison 2006 and Garrison 2011a.

⁹⁸ A full analysis of this seal is provided in Garrison 2017b: 207, 209–13. PFS 2084* occurs on the left edges of NN 0706 and NN 1884 and the reverse of NN 2295.

⁹⁹ Specifically, *ddy*, *dry*, or *rdy*; less likely is *wry*. One assumes that the surviving letters are part of a personal name (pers. comm. A. Azzoni).

¹⁰⁰ PFUTS 0336* occurs to date only on the obverse, upper edge, reverse, and bottom edge of PFUT 2148-107.

and extends it backwards at shoulder level presumably to grasp the neck of the bull-man at left. The creature wears a belted ankle-length garment. The winged bull-man at left faces to right. He holds both arms bent, one before his body, the other raised behind his head to grasp a spear that he drives into the back leg of the lion-headed creature. He has a belt at his waist. He has a long, blunt-pointed beard; a small lock of hair rests at the back of his neck. The winged bull-man at right faces to left. He holds one arm straight and extends it upwards to grasp the snout of the lion creature. He holds his other arm bent and extends it upwards behind his head to grasp a spear that he drives into the forward leg of the lion creature. A two-line Aramaic inscription, free-floating and oriented horizontally, runs across the upper and lower fields.¹⁰¹

These scenes of fantastical human-animal creatures in combat are distinct compositionally and iconographically from the seals that show realistic human figures in combat. Nevertheless, they add further depth and perspective for broad considerations of scenes of human combat as depicted in the early Achaemenid glyptic assemblages from Persepolis.

5. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IMAGERY ON THE SEAL OF ARŠĀMA

The following discussion seeks to explore some of the possible avenues of signification of the imagery on the seal of Aršāma. In our opinion, the most interesting lines of inquiry involve the manner in which the image on the seal of Aršāma engages with the greater visual environment at Persepolis, both as a visual artefact and as a socio-administrative marker. Thus, we shall not make any attempts to identify the main protagonist in the scene with a particular historical personage (as, for example, Aršāma himself) or the event with a particular historical episode.¹⁰² Persepolitan glyptic, and, indeed, glyptic from

¹⁰¹ For the inscription, see above, p. 70.

¹⁰² As e.g. Wu (2005: 90, 94, 2010: 546, 549, 554–60, 2014 *passim*) who sees the scenes on glyptic as often commemorating specific battles and/or acting as a ‘witness’ of the battles in which the seal-owners had participated. Previous to the discovery of the seal of Aršāma in the Fortification archive, she dated the combat depicted on the seal to the period 454–429. Wu (2005: 93, 2010: 557, 2014: 265–6) also argues that the detailed articulation of facial details, ‘especially his thick lips’, of the protagonist on the seal of Aršāma were intended to be accurate representations of Aršāma’s specific physiognomy. We can see no evidence that the lips on the protagonist are any thicker than those of any other individual in the scene; in any event, the suggestion that specific portraiture was intended is highly problematic. (See also the comments of Tuplin 2020: 381, 384 (on portraiture), 372–9 (on historical events).) We have noted above, however, the curious placement of the inscription on the seal of Aršāma, crowded to the right potentially to be as close as possible to the main protagonist. This conceit, if in fact the intention of placing the inscription thus was as just suggested, would serve to identify the main protagonist only in the same manner that the inscriptions at Bisotūn serve to identify individuals there, not as a specific portrait but simply as a marker, indeed almost as an iconographic attribute.

ancient Western Asia as a whole, in any case did not function in this manner, as a literal pictorial device that sought to depict the physical peculiarities of a specific historical personage (portraiture) or to record an actual event from a particular historical episode (as a commemorative marker). Rather, we shall be concerned with the manner in which the imagery on the seal of Aršāma engages with the dense complex of imagery, glyptic and monumental, centred in Persepolis and its environs in the late sixth century, both the visual mechanics of that engagement and its socio-administrative underpinnings.

As we have seen, among the thousands of seals documented in Persepolitan glyptic, the theme of human combat is very rare. Within the small cluster of seals that do show human combat, the imagery on the seal of Aršāma (Fig. 2.1) is in many ways unique. While its imagery is closely related, thematically, compositionally, and/or stylistically, to PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26) and PTS 29 (Figs. 2.33–2.35), it nonetheless stands apart from those two seals in the complexity of its imagery, the remarkable inscription that includes the title *br byt*’, and the large size of the seal matrix itself. Thus, on multiple levels the seal is an exceptional glyptic artefact. This should, perhaps, come as no surprise for we are dealing with a very highly placed individual, Aršāma, a prince of the realm, a grandson of Cyrus, a leading figure among the Teispid members of the royal family, but also explicitly connected to the Achaemenid line by means of his name, which repeats that of Darius’ grandfather, Aršāma.¹⁰³

5.1. Visualizing Ethnicity

Perhaps the most often discussed aspects of the imagery on the seal of Aršāma are the garments and headdresses that the adversaries wear.¹⁰⁴ The concern in most of these analyses is to link the garments and headdresses worn by the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma with those worn by the subject peoples depicted on various Achaemenid monumental reliefs in hopes of establishing a

¹⁰³ This Aršāma occurs first in DBa 4 (Elam. Iršamma), the oldest inscription at Bisotūn, as son of Ariaramnes and father of Hystaspes. No historical data are available for this person, apart from the observation, as noted by Darius (DSf-DSz) and Xerxes (XPf), that Aršāma was alive at the time of Darius’ accession. Aršāma’s inscription on a gold plaque from ‘Hamadan’ is actually unprovenanced; it is widely regarded as an antique forgery made to elevate Aršāma to the rank of king. For references see Schmitt 2011: 95.

¹⁰⁴ As noted above (§4.1), there is no agreement on the exact configuration of either the garments or the headdresses of the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma. In our view, the most straightforward reading is a closed coat with a long tail worn over ankle-length trousers; the hat is soft and rises to a point at the front of the head. Wu (2005: 80 and 2014: 255–6) states that the garments and headdresses worn by the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma identify them as belonging to the ‘Sogdian/Chorazmian/Saka *Haumavagar*[sic] group in Central Asia’, with the frontal position of pointed headdress suggesting most likely a Sogdian origin (see also below).

visual canon of ethnic markers.¹⁰⁵ This is a none-too-easy endeavour. The glyptic evidence is at an extremely small scale and, in some cases, fragmentary; the identification of the exact configuration of the garments and headdresses is thus problematic. The monumental evidence at first blush seems promising, being at a large scale and in some cases even tagged with inscriptional identifications. Nonetheless, the coding of ethnicity via garments and headdress in the Achaemenid monumental record is not unambiguous.

It is not our intention to review exhaustively yet again the evidence for peoples who wear coats over trousers and some type of (soft) pointed hat in Achaemenid art.¹⁰⁶ Almost all commentators agree in linking this sartorial assemblage with groups found on the northern and eastern fringes of the empire.¹⁰⁷ The various tribes of the Sakā figure prominently in these debates. On the royal tombs of Darius I and Artaxerxes III, where the subject peoples are labelled (DNe, A³Pb), there are three throne-bearers explicitly labelled as Sakā (Fig. 2.47, group nos. 15, 24). Three others are included in the debate on the basis of geographical proximity and similarity of attire (Fig. 2.47, group no. 25). The six groups are generally divided into two geographical zones, a Central Asian and a European one.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, the comments of Roaf 1974: 91–2. The monumental evidence includes Darius' victory monument at Bisotūn (e.g. Root 1979: 58–61, 182–226, pls. 6–8), royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam (Fig. 2.47) and Persepolis (Schmidt 1970: frontispiece, 108–18, figs. 39–52, pls. 19–20, 22A, 25, 28–30 (tomb of Darius I only)), the statue of Darius from Susa (originally from Egypt: Yoyotte 2012), the Canal Stele (Roaf 1974: 79–84), door jambs in the so-called Council Hall or Tripylon (Schmidt 1953: pls. 77–8, 80–1) and Throne Hall (Schmidt 1953: pls. 103–4, 106–13) at Persepolis, the stairway façades of the Apadana at Persepolis (Schmidt 1953: pls. 19, 27–49), the very poorly preserved stairway façades of the Palace of Artaxerxes I (also known as Palace H: Schmidt 1953: pls. 200–5, Tilia 1972: 243–316, Tilia 1974: 129–34; cf. Roaf 1974: 88), and the façade of the western staircase of the Palace of Darius I, added to the structure by Artaxerxes III (Schmidt 1953: 228–9, pls. 152–6). The subject peoples on the following monuments are identified by accompanying inscriptions: Bisotūn (DBb-k); Darius' Canal Stelae (fragmentary); the base of the statue of Darius found at Susa (DSab); the tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam (tomb 1: DNe); the tomb of Artaxerxes III at Persepolis (tomb 5: A³Pb).

¹⁰⁶ Schmidt (1953: 85–90, for the Apadana, and 1970: 108–18, for the tomb of Darius) provides the starting point. To link the garments and headdresses on the seal of Aršāma with monumental relief embroils us not only in the question of identification of the ethnic groups represented in Achaemenid monumental relief (see above, n. 105) but also the collation of those representations with the various inscriptional lists of subject peoples. Important studies that address on some level garments/head-dresses and what ethnic group they represent include Walser 1966, Walser 1972, Hinz 1969: 95–113, Tilia 1972: 265–308, Roaf 1974, Calmeyer 1982, Calmeyer 1983, Jacobs 1982, Vogelsang 1992, Hachmann 1995, Briant 2002: 173–7, 909, Wu 2005: 69–70, Jacobs 2009, Wu 2014: 219–21.

¹⁰⁷ Balzer (2007: 1.153) is something of an anomaly in describing the garments of the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma as the 'iranischer/skythischer Reitertracht'. The description is, in fact, quite valid given the ambiguity in the visual record for the garments of individuals in the eastern parts of the empire (cf. below).

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Schmidt 1970: 11–12. The terms that follow are from the Old Persian versions of the accompanying epigraphs at Naqš-e Rostam. The numbers indicate Schmidt's (1970) numbering schema for the throne-bearers.

Central Asia:

- 7. Sogdians
- 8. Chorasmians
- 14. *hauma*-drinking Sakā
- 15. pointed-hat Sakā (Fig. 2.47)

Europe:

- 24. Sakā beyond-the-sea (Fig. 2.47)
- 25. Skudrians (Fig. 2.47)

Schmidt describes the attire of all six throne-bearers here listed as consisting of the ‘Scythian cut-away coat’ worn over long baggy trousers. While the hem of the coat does rise in front between the legs of the throne-bearers, it certainly preserves no indication of an exaggerated tail such as seen on the backs of the coats worn by the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma. Most of these throne-bearers also wear a dagger at the waist and one or two bracelets on each wrist. None of them wears a bow-and-arrow case, bow, or quiver, items which, in other contexts, have been described as important iconographic markers of the Sakā (see, for example, Schmidt 1970: 112–13, 162); but, given the particular context, one would not expect (and certainly does not get) an excessively militarized iconography for the throne-bearers.

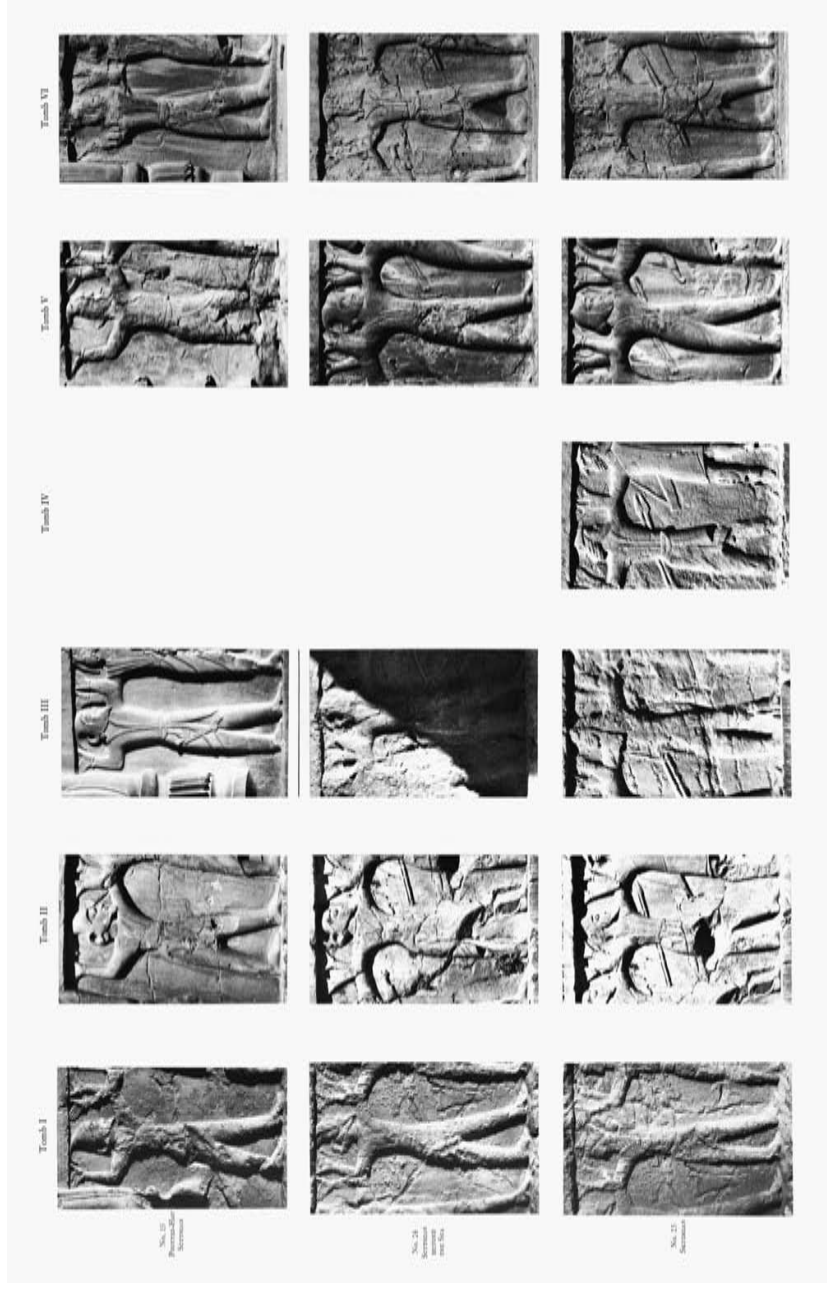
The headdresses worn by these six throne-bearers exhibit some variation:¹⁰⁹

7. Sogdian	conoid or domed, sometimes with cheek flap
8. Chorasmian	conoid or domed, with cheek flap
14. <i>hauma</i> -drinking Saka	back-curving to point with cheek flap, or blunt-tipped at front
15. pointed-hat Saka	‘tall slanting cone, long tip curving back’, with up-curved neckguard and cheek flap (Fig. 2.47)
24. Saka beyond-the-sea	‘low cone, long tip curving back’, with up-curved neckguard and cheek flap (Fig. 2.47)
25. Skudrian	‘low petasos, knobby tip, no chin strap’ (tomb 4) or ‘domed top, knobby tip’, with cheek flap (Fig. 2.47)

While many other throne-bearers wear a knee-length coat/tunic over trousers, the headdress that rises to blunt point/tip or long slanting cone is unique to the Sakā peoples (but not always worn by all of them).¹¹⁰ In summary, while we may identify some patterns with regard to the general types of garments and

¹⁰⁹ Quotations that follow come from Schmidt’s (1970) commentary accompanying his figs. 43 and 44.

¹¹⁰ For throne-bearers who wear a knee-length coat/tunic over trousers, see e.g. the Mede (2), Parthian (4), Armenian (20), Cappadocian (21).



2.47. Details of throne-bearer groups (15, 24, and 25) found on the six royal rock-cut tombs at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis (= Schmidt 1970: fig. 44). Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

headdresses associated with specific groups of Sakā peoples within the reliefs on the royal tombs, that evidence does not provide an unambiguous equation that would allow us to identify a particular Sakā group by garments and head-dresses alone; indeed, on the royal tombs, the Sogdian and Chorasmian are identically dressed, as are the *hauma*-drinking and pointed-hat Sakā. Nor are we able to move seamlessly between the evidence provided by two different monuments wherein the subject peoples are identified by inscription. For example, the Sogdian, Chorasmian, 'Saka of the Marshlands and Saka of the Plains', and the Skudrian on the statue base of the Susa statue of Darius do not wear the distinctive 'Scythic cut-away cloak'. The Skudrian representative on the statue base actually wears no headdress at all.¹¹¹ Transposing the identifications provided by the inscriptional evidence from the tomb reliefs of Darius I and Artaxerxes III and the statue of Darius to the monuments at Persepolis, where the subject peoples are not identified by inscription, has proved especially challenging for many of the subject peoples.¹¹² One example may suffice. The individuals who wear tall pointed hats on the reliefs at Persepolis, a distinctive feature of two Sakā peoples in the royal tomb reliefs, wear simply the long coat/tunic over trousers rather than the 'Scythic cut-away cloak'.¹¹³

Attempts to parse the sartorial code in Achaemenid monumental art and glyptic in hopes of revealing a consistent, universal, and readily readable syntax are, thus, not successful. A more profitable line of inquiry is to consider the representation of ethnic groups in glyptic imagery in broad and generalized contexts. Indeed, several commentators have noted that the dress and headdresses

¹¹¹ See the discussion in Roaf 1974: 111, 117, 118–21, 130–2; as Roaf (119) notes, the clothes of the Sakā groups on the base of the statue of Darius are exactly the same as the Sattagyadian representative, 'who probably wore an Indian kilt or loin-cloth'.

¹¹² See e.g. Schmidt 1953: pls. 37 (delegation no. 11), 45 (delegation no. 19), Roaf 1974: 118–21.

¹¹³ Note the comments of Roaf (1974: 91–92), who concludes that it can often be impossible in those cases where the subject peoples are not identified by inscription to identify specific ethnic groups by dress and headdress, this against the affirmations by Schmidt (1970: 150–1). Wu (2005: 66, 80, 84 n. 220) identifies the typical Central Asian sartorial assemblage as consisting of a 'Scythian coat with cut-away front, loose trousers with checker patterns, and headdress protruding upward near the forehead. This attire allows us to place confidently the figures into the Sogdian/Chorasmian/Sakan group'. In the same study Wu (2005: 69) highlights the difficulty of precisely identifying in particular the peoples from northern Central Asia, which include in her opinion the Sogdians, Chorasmians, and some other Sakā groups. She states that all of them wear the 'Scythic' attire: tight-fitting coats with cut-away fronts, loose trousers, and headdresses with 'earflaps fastening under the chin' (what in other publications are called 'cheek flaps'). She reiterates this addition of the headdresses with 'earflaps' to this sartorial assemblage in a later study (Wu 2010: 550–1). As noted above, the garments and headdresses worn by the adversaries on the seal of Aršāma (Fig. 2.1), PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26), and PTS 29 (Figs. 2.33–2.35), while overall very consistent, do exhibit some differences; and none of the adversaries wears, as far as one can determine from preserved impressions, a headdress with cheek flaps (the so-called *bashlyk*, which clearly can be represented in glyptic, if so desired: see above, n. 28). It may be, however, that we are to understand that the cheek flaps have simply been upturned (see the comments of Roaf 1974: 101–2).

of adversaries in the scenes of human combat in Achaemenid glyptic clearly depict only three categories of adversary: Greek, Egyptian, people from Central Asia.¹¹⁴ While these groups may reflect something of a historical reality (i.e. the Achaemenids did fight against these peoples), they would seem, from a historical perspective, to present a highly skewed picture of Achaemenid military encounters. The thing that unites these three ethnic categories is that they are located at the outer edges of the empire. Indeed, one avenue of interpretation would be to construe the three groups within a broad geographical framework. In this manner, these groups could be conceived as indicating particular types representing parts of the outer edges of the empire: north-west (Greeks, Sakā beyond-the-sea, Skudrians), south-west (Egyptians), north-east (pointed-hat Sakā, *hauma*-drinking Sakā, Sogdians, Chorasmians, etc.), and south-east (Indians). This particular perspective is in keeping with the rhetoric of Achaemenid imperial inscriptions, where groups of subject peoples exist in a series of concentric circles radiating out from the centre of the empire (Pārsa) to its outer edges, the outer edges representing the most dangerous, and unruly, zones (see, for example, Lincoln 2012: 43–51). The images of human combat in glyptic would then not record particular historical military engagements, but represent the imperial project's demarcation of the outermost 'other'. These ethnic types thereby symbolize not only peoples who live on the edges of the empire, but also abstract concepts concerning the physical expansion of the empire into liminal zones populated with groups who represent potential disruption to the imperial order.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Wu 2010: 549, Wu 2014: 246–56, 272, Tuplin 2020: 372–9.

¹¹⁵ Tuplin 2020: 372–9 explores this issue in some detail, seeing some evidence for specificity in some contexts but opting in the end for what he considers to be the safest reading of imagery involving human combat, an ideological one. Wu (2014: 250–6) argues that the number and diversity of scenes of warfare on seals in which the antagonists wear garments indicating an eastern origin (Central Asia or the Eurasian steppes) demonstrate that: (1) warfare between Achaemenid Persians and peoples of those areas took place more commonly than generally recorded in the Greek and Persian sources; (2) the peoples of Central Asia, especially the 'Sogdians or Sakas', were a real military threat to the Empire; (3) ideologically, the Achaemenids thought the peoples of Central Asia as much of a threat to the Empire as the Greeks and the Egyptians; (4) many of these scenes commemorate/depict actual battles. In closing this discussion, one should note that the Sakā in Central Asia did figure prominently in major military campaigns of both Cyrus and Darius (see e.g. Briant 2002: 38–40, 115, 118, 127–8, 883, 901). The Sakā, thus, constituted a real military threat (apparently in a manner quite different from Chorasmians, Sogdians, etc.). A strong case, based upon the historical importance of the Sakā of Central Asia in our literary and inscriptional sources, could then be made for a reading that identifies the antagonists on the seal of Aršāma as representing specifically the Sakā of Central Asia. Our interpretive problem lies in the ambiguity of the visual evidence and our inability to understand this ambiguity (i.e. to read the code) without qualification. Whether the antagonists on the seal of Aršāma (and related glyptic and monumental evidence) represent an amalgam of north-eastern peoples or the Sakā of Central Asia specifically, the imperial ideological intention would appear to be the same: the demarcation of the edges of the north-eastern boundary

5.2. The Divine and the Numinous

The appearance of the crescent and the winged ring-in-disk in the upper field on the seal of Aršāma is noteworthy. This is, however, not the venue to explore in detail the glyptic scenes that combine the winged symbol with various numinous entities.¹¹⁶ The following comments suggest potential lines of further investigation. The important points to note are the rarity of scenes involving the winged symbol at Persepolis, the often-innovative nature and complexity of those scenes, and the direct links to the Neo-Assyrian glyptic heritage.¹¹⁷

As noted in various studies, the winged symbol in both of its forms, with and without a partial humanoid figure, is relatively rare in Persepolitan glyptic.¹¹⁸ Currently, we can document some 132 scenes that include a winged symbol from the Fortification archive and nineteen scenes from the Treasury archive. This corpus represents some 3% of the total number of seals from the Fortification archive. The percentage of seals that carry a winged symbol in the Treasury archive is much greater, some 25%.¹¹⁹

In Persepolitan glyptic, the winged symbol often occurs with another numinous marker. For instance, twenty-one seals in Persepolitan glyptic combine the winged symbol with a star; of these, seven scenes also contain a crescent, eight also a stylized tree.¹²⁰ Another eight seals combine the winged symbol with only a

of the imperial project. On ethnic identification in the texts from the Fortification archive, see Henkelman and Stolper 2009, where the authors state that 'ethnic labelling served administrative purposes, but may also have expressed some recognition of social and legal status' (271). On 'Sakā' as a recognizable administrative term see Henkelman ii 193–6 and Henkelman n.d. 3.

¹¹⁶ The topic is discussed in some detail in Garrison 2017b, Garrison n.d. 1, and Garrison n.d. 4. Of particular interest is the common appearance of the stylized tree with the winged symbol. The stylized tree itself, of course, constitutes yet another numinous element whose exact significance in early Achaemenid context is as yet unclear.

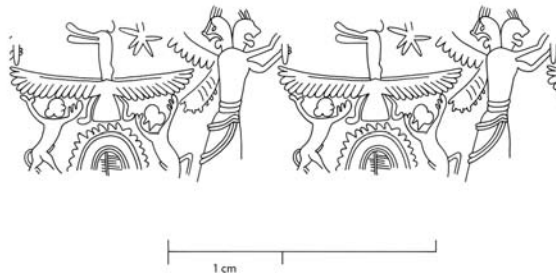
¹¹⁷ These four features (rarity, innovation, complexity, linkage to the Neo-Assyrian heritage) are also characteristics of the scene on the seal of Aršāma as a whole. On the Neo-Assyrian heritage, see the discussion in §§ 4.6, 6.1.

¹¹⁸ The relative rarity of the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic is remarkable given that it is by far and away the most well-known and often-discussed symbol in the Achaemenid visual repertoire (see below). While the figure in the winged ring is conspicuous in the reliefs at Bisotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, it is in fact rare in buildings dating to the reign of Darius at Persepolis. Its rarity at Persepolis, both in monumental relief and glyptic, at the time of Darius cannot be due to chance given the extremely large number of seals that survive from the Fortification archive. See also the references above, n. 116.

¹¹⁹ The more common appearance of the winged symbol in the Treasury archive may be due to the later date (492–457) of that archive and/or the consistently higher administrative profiles of the seal-users whose seals are found on the Elamite tablets. This comment does not, however, apply to the seal-users on the uninscribed labels; of the administrative status of those seal-users, with a few exceptions, we are ignorant.

¹²⁰ Four seals, PFUTS 0267, PFUTS 0327, PFUTS 1257, and PFATS 0679, remarkably combine the winged symbol with a star, crescent, and stylized tree.

crescent.¹²¹ On forty-five seals the winged symbol occurs with a stylized tree.¹²² Other numinous entities that occur with the winged symbol include winged genii and atlantids (the latter generally bull-men), pedestal creatures (often human-headed), the rhombus, winged animals and composite creatures, the pedestal supporting the spade of Marduk and stylus of Nabû, and the seven dots of the Pleiades.¹²³ Indeed, in the corpus of seals from both the Fortification archive and Treasury archive having a winged symbol, currently some 151 seals in total, there are only twenty that show the winged symbol without any other numinous entity.



2.48. Collated line drawing of PFS 0122.



2.49. Impression of PFS 0122 on the obverse of PFUT 2108-208.

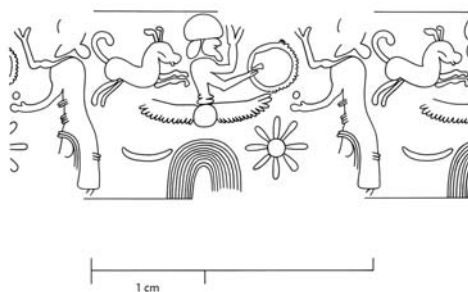
¹²¹ In Garrison 2011b: 56 it is stated that there are no known examples of the pairing of the winged symbol with a crescent in Persepolitan glyptic. Since that article was written, the cataloguing of new seals has led to the discovery of many examples of the winged symbol occurring with a crescent.

¹²² Of these forty-five seals, ten also have a star and/or a crescent.

¹²³ On PFS 0166, a winged ring-in-disk is paired with a stylized tree and the Horus child sitting on a lotus. On PFS 0216, the winged symbol is held aloft by an entity from which flow streams of water. Both seals are highly Assyrianizing.

PFS 0083* (Figs. 2.22–2.23), the first seal used by Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the agency represented by the Fortification archive, is a good example of the pairing of the winged symbol with a bull-man atlantid, star, and a winged creature.¹²⁴ PFS 0122 (Figs. 2.48–2.49) depicts a common scene-type wherein bull-men atlantids hold aloft a figure in a winged device over a stylized tree; the double lion-headed winged genius is quite remarkable. As noted, the scene-type, atlantid bull-men holding aloft a winged symbol over a stylized tree, is one obviously deeply influenced by the Neo-Assyrian glyptic tradition.¹²⁵

Currently there are fourteen seals on which the winged symbol is combined with a crescent, as we see on the seal of Aršāma.¹²⁶ In all but four cases—the



2.50. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0267.



2.51. Impression of PFUTS 0267 on the obverse of PFUT 2092-102.

¹²⁴ For a detailed analysis of the imagery on PFS 0083*, see Garrison 2017c: 339–49.

¹²⁵ See the discussions in Garrison 2011b, Garrison n.d. 1, and Garrison n.d. 4. Even the rendering of the stylized tree on PFS 0122 is in the Assyrian mode, being a variation of what Collon (2001: 82–3) calls the ‘arch-and-net tree’.

¹²⁶ PFATS 0139, PFATS 0198, PFATS 0208 (Figs. 2.52–2.53), PFATS 0549, PFATS 0679, PFS 1360, PFS 2899* (Aršāma: Fig. 2.1), PFUTS 0046, PFUTS 0267 (Figs. 2.50–2.51), PFUTS 0327, PFUTS 0517, PFUTS 0887s, PFUTS 1257, and PFUTS 1414.

seal of Aršāma, PFS 1360, PFATS 0139, and PFUTS 1414—there are other numinous entities in the scenes. PFUTS 0267 (Figs. 2.50–2.51) and PFATS 0208 (Figs. 2.52–2.53) may serve as examples. On the second of these, an attendant and a rampant caprid approach a figure in a winged device; the crescent is in the upper field between the attendant and the caprid. The winged symbol, as in PFS 0122 (Figs. 2.48–2.49), floats over a stylized tree; behind the figure emerging from the winged device is a rhombus. PFUTS 0267 (Figs. 2.50–2.51) is an especially complex and dense combination of numinous entities. A figure in a winged disk offers a large ring to an attendant dressed in an Assyrian garment. The figure in a winged disk floats over a stylized tree; to the right of the tree is a star, to the left, a crescent. To the left of the figure in the winged disk, in the upper field, is a lion. Among those seals pairing a winged symbol and a crescent, PFUTS 0267 and PFATS 0208 are the only seals on which the winged symbol contains a partial humanoid figure.¹²⁷

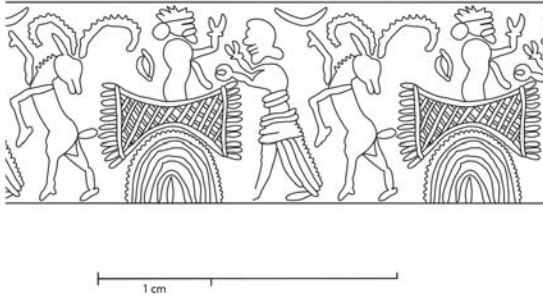
While the winged symbol is relatively rare in Persepolitan glyptic, the star, crescent, or star and crescent together occur on a large number of seals. PFS 0071* (Fig. 2.6–2.7), a sophisticated design belonging to Irdumartiya (Ṛtavardiya-), a top-level administrator in both the Fortification and Treasury archives, provides an impressive example of a star combined with a crescent.¹²⁸

The winged symbol, in all of its various manifestations, is easily the most well-known and often-discussed symbol in Achaemenid art.¹²⁹ Its inclusion in the seal of Aršāma does not provide any new data that yield insight into the identification of the symbol. Its appearance on the seal of Aršāma, coupled with the crescent, does, however, point us to the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, the most conspicuous pairing of the winged symbol with a crescent, or, rather, a crescent inscribed within a disk. The significant feature here is not any particular iconographic detail, but the pairing of these two symbols within

¹²⁷ The upper part of the winged symbol on PFATS 0679 and PFUTS 0046 is too poorly preserved to determine whether a humanoid figure is present.

¹²⁸ Irdumartiya/Ṛtavardiya- is named both in documents sealed by PFS 0071* and in the seal inscription. This individual may be the same Ṛtavardiya- mentioned in the Bisotūn inscription at DB_p III.28–49 (Schmitt 1991: 64–5), or perhaps his son. The seal occurs in the Treasury archive, there labelled PTS 33*. It is especially important since it is one of the earliest-dated examples of court-centric iconography (occurring on a tablet dated to 508/7). For PFS 0071*/PTS 33* and Irdumartiya/Ṛtavardiya-, see Hinz 1971: 305, Koch 1993: 62–3, Henkelman 2003: 123–4 n. 27, Henkelman 2008a, 126–7 n. 283, Henkelman 2017b: 286–7 ad line 8, 298, Tavernier 2007: 13 (1.2.4), 44 (2.2.3–4) (name), Garrison 2010a: 354, Garrison 2013: 583–4, Garrison 2014b: 502 n. 55, fig. 15, Garrison 2017a: 535–6, Garrison 2017c: 35, 53, 54, 76, 77, 101, 108–9, 334, 367, 376, 384, 403, 406, 410, 414, 415, Stolper 2017a: 773, Henkelman n.d. 3.

¹²⁹ The literal interpretation of the winged symbol, as Auramazdā or some other divine or semi-divine entity, has consumed scholarly inquiry for generations. See Garrison (2011b, 2014a, 2017b, n.d. 1, n.d. 4) and Jacobs 2017a for a detailed review with bibliography. The matter is related to the vexed question of the nature of Achaemenid religion (often assumed to have been a form of Zoroastrianism). See the discussion in Henkelman 2017c, with full bibliography.



2.52. Collated line drawing of PFATS 0208. Drawing by E. R. M. Dusinberre.



2.53. Impression of PFATS 0208 on the reverse of PFAT 0176.

visual imagery associated with the highest levels of the imperial court, a seal of a royal prince and the king's tomb façade.¹³⁰

It is interesting that the rock-cut monuments of Darius at Bīsoṭūn and Naqš-e Rostam, perhaps the most visible monuments within the whole of the imperial programme initiated by Darius, are marked by the inclusion of the

¹³⁰ Schmidt (1970: 85) described the symbol on the tomb of Darius as 'a discoid symbol with accentuated, lunate, lower part', referencing better-preserved examples on the later royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam. The crescent-in-disk is almost impossible to see in detail in Schmidt's (1970) publication of the tomb, and it is not uncommon in descriptions of the façade for it to go unmentioned. Garrison (2011b, 2017c: 387–415) explores the possibility that the pairing of the winged symbol with the crescent inscribed within a disk on the tomb relief may reflect a complex restructuring of religious iconology taking place early in the reign of Darius.

figure in the winged ring. Commentators have been, however, hard-pressed to understand the significance of the combination of the figure in the winged ring with the crescent inscribed within a disk on the tomb relief, especially those seeking to read the imagery through a Zoroastrian or Mazdaic lens.¹³¹ Do the pairings of the winged symbol with other numinous entities in Persepolitan glyptic and the conspicuous pairing of the figure in the winged ring with the crescent inscribed within a disk at Naqš-e Rostam indicate the existence of a tradition in the imperial heartland wherein the winged symbol is more commonly combined with other numinous entities? Does the fact that the winged symbol is paired with another numinous entity on the seal belonging to the royal prince Aršāma and on the royal tomb at Naqš-e Rostam indicate a particular predilection on the part of the royal family for such a pairing?

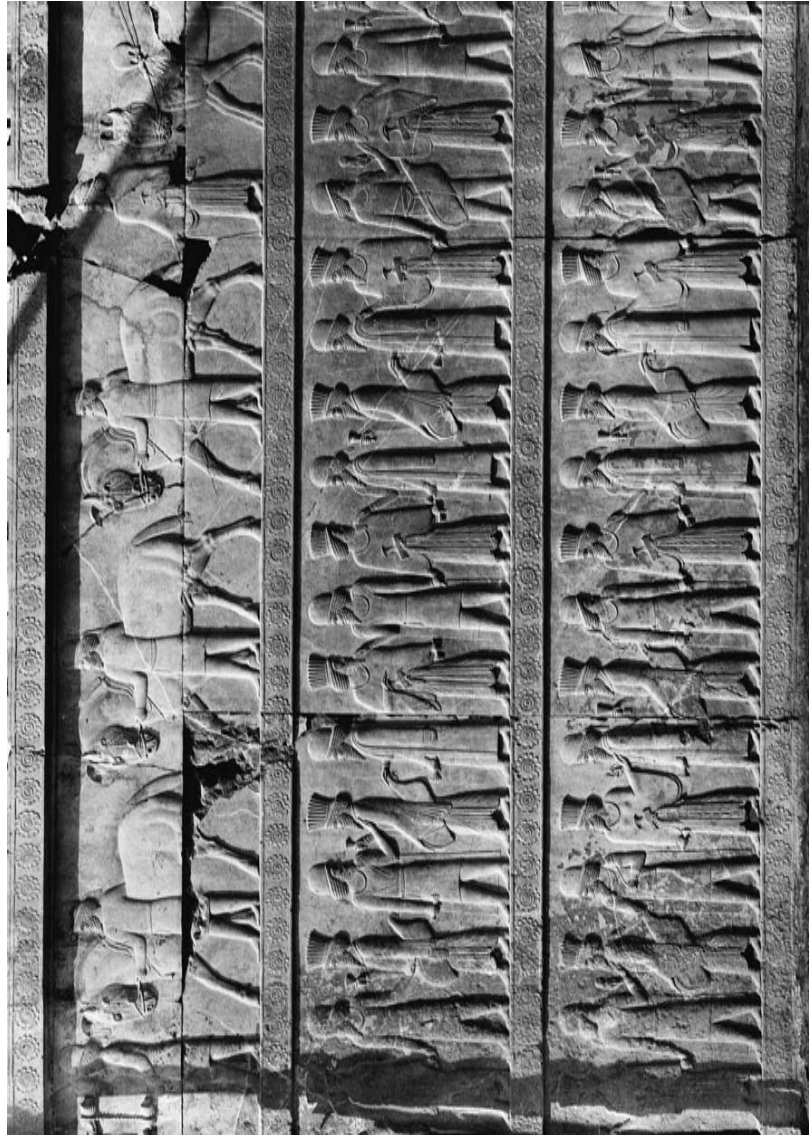
For the moment, we can only pose these queries by way of attempting to understand better the contexts in which the winged symbol occurs in the formative period of Achaemenid visual culture. The fact that the winged symbol and the crescent are depicted together on both the royal tomb and the seal of a royal prince surely cannot, however, be fortuitous.

5.3. The Horse Led by Rein

A royal context may also potentially provide some insights concerning the horses that are tethered to the two combatants on the seal of Aršāma. Only two seals in the whole corpus of scenes of human warfare in Achaemenid glyptic exhibit this particular compositional trope: the seal of Aršāma (Fig. 2.1) and PTS 30* (Figs. 2.18–2.19; cf. Tuplin 2020: 342, 387–8, 389–90, 421–2).

The horses behind the combatants on these two seals bring to mind the three horses (each led by an attendant) and two chariots (a driver in each cart) that

¹³¹ On the tomb relief of Darius, see Garrison 2011b and Garrison 2017c: 387–415, with references to previous scholarship and interpretations. There is a tradition of eliding any distinction between the winged symbol and crescent inscribed within a disk in a Zoroastrian reading of the tomb relief, both elements simply being seen as different manifestations of the same numinous entity, the supreme god Auramazdā. That no less an authority than Moorey (1978: 148), who in general did not pursue a Zoroastrian interpretive agenda, could posit such an opinion gives one cause to proceed with caution before rejecting such an identification. The *locus classicus* of the Zoroastrian perspective is Boyce (especially 1982: 90–124), who, of course, rejected any linkage of the winged symbol with Auramazdā owing to the fact that the figure in the winged symbol often is a mirror image of the king, making its identification with the supreme Zoroastrian deity ‘wholly improbable’ (103). Boyce (114) suggested that the combination of the winged symbol, crescent inscribed within a disk, and ‘fire altar’ on the tomb relief of Darius represented the king in prayer before the sun, moon, and fire, three entities invoked as vehicles of proper prayer in the Zoroastrian tradition. This interpretation is an example of the flexibility of the academic Zoroastrian perspective, which can call upon a wide variety of often contradictory texts dating from different periods (all at a considerable remove from the late sixth century) and cultural contexts to substantiate the appearance of what are taken as Zoroastrian features in Achaemenid art and textual sources.



2.54. Detail of a passage from the eastern stairway of the Apadana, Persepolis, showing in the upper register three horses led by attendants. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

occupy one end of the top registers on each of the stairway wings of the Apadana (Fig. 2.54).¹³² Schmidt (1953: 83–4) suggested that both the horses and the chariots belonged to the king; most commentators have concurred.¹³³ Schmidt identified the horses as the Nisaeans, described by Herodotus (7.40.2–4) in a famous passage concerning Xerxes' procession from Sardis as he began his campaign against the Greek mainland.¹³⁴ These Nisaeen horses were also said to have pulled the king's chariot (see Briant 2002: 223–5).

An evocative example of a horse without a rider within a royal context (but not a scene of military encounter) occurs on PTS 26 (Figs. 2.55–2.57), a seal



2.55. Collated line drawing of PTS 26.



2.56. Impression of PTS 26 on the left edge of PT 20 (A23242).

¹³² Guards and nobles stand behind the seated king in three registers on both wings of the Apadana; at the far end of the top register on both wings three horses and two chariots are placed in a line (Schmidt 1953: pls. 52, 57). Horses also figure prominently as objects brought by the subject delegations on the Apadana (discussed and illustrated in Gabrielli 2006: 12–17, figs. 2–17, 19, 21, and 26).

¹³³ Schmidt (1953: 83) suggested also that the last groom in the passage of the relief carried the 'king's chariot stool strapped to his shoulders' (Briant 2002: 221 concurs). On the royal horses and chariot, see also Briant 2002: 184–5, 190, 223–5, 914, Gabrielli 2006: 14–15 (royal horses) and 17–34 (Nisaeans), Tuplin 2010: 104–6 (evidence for images of the horse without a rider throughout the empire) and 141–3 (Nisaeans).

¹³⁴ The horses behind the principal protagonists on the seal of Aršāma and PTS 30* both have elaborate forelocks, as do their counterparts on the Apadana.



2.57. Impression of PTS 26 on the left edge of PT 26 (A23302).

that has hitherto received little attention in scholarship.¹³⁵ The scene is an audience wherein a seated crowned figure—dressed in the Persian court garment, his right hand cupped upwards, his left holding a three-lobed flower (lotus?)—is approached by a standing crowned figure with the same attire, hand gesture, and flower. A small winged disk floats in the upper field between the two figures. An attendant stands behind the seated figure holding in his upraised left hand some type of staff with an attachment at its top.¹³⁶ To the right of the standing figure is a horse; it is most likely being led by the attendant who stands behind the seated crowned figure. The scene recalls the central panels of the Apadana, but on PTS 26 a standing crowned individual approaches the seated crowned figure (rather than standing behind him). With the Apadana in mind, the horse and attendant on PTS 26 would then appear to relate/refer to the horses and attendants on the top registers of the stairway wings. PTS 26 occurs on tablets dated to the reign of Xerxes, but the carving style appears to be related to what we have called Mixed Styles II, or, perhaps, even very early Court Style, and most likely dates to the reign of Darius.¹³⁷

The close association of the horse without a rider with Achaemenid kingship via the stairway reliefs of the Apadana (Fig. 2.54) and the crowned figures on PTS 26 (Figs. 2.55–2.57) and the appearance of the horse without a rider on the

¹³⁵ PTS 26 is preserved on three Elamite tablets and three labels from the Treasury: PT 11 (PT4 745), PT 20 (PT4 443 = A23242; Fig. 2.56), PT 26 (PT4 674 = A23302; Fig. 2.57), PT4 387, PT4 702, and PT4 758.

¹³⁶ Schmidt (1957: 28) describe this object as a ‘flail-like device (whip?)’.

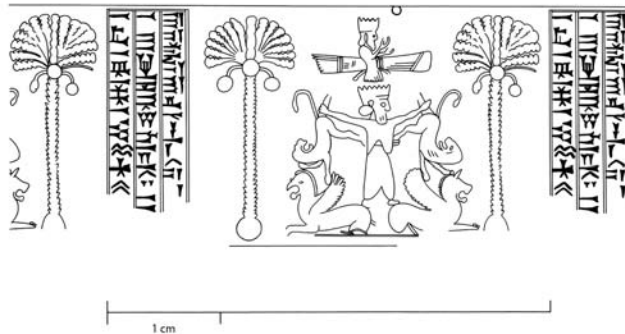
¹³⁷ For a similar carving style, cf., especially, PFUTS 0019* (Garrison 2017c: 148–9, 255–7, 354–5). The profile shoulder, as seen on the figures on PFUTS 0019*, is a feature of early Court Style glyptic at Persepolis: see e.g. the royal-name seal PFS 0011* (Figs. 2.82–2.83; Garrison 2013: 71–3, figs. 7.4–6, Garrison 2017c: 349–73) and PFS 0859* (Garrison and Root 2001: 299–300, cat. no. 205).

seal of Aršāma, a royal prince, suggest that we may in fact have to do with a theme that has particular associations with early Achaemenid kingship (and the male progeny of the royal house).¹³⁸

5.4. Dead Adversaries as Pedestal Creatures

Despite the rarity of scenes of human combat in Persepolitan glyptic, three of them, the seal of Aršāma (Fig. 2.1), PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26), and PTS 29 (Figs. 2.33–2.35), employ the visual trope of dead adversaries in the lower field. On the seal of Aršāma, these dead adversaries in fact act as a platform over which the two combatants, and their horses, stand. We have remarked above (§4.6) that this particular method of stacking figures in the scene finds visual parallels in the heirloom seals PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32) and PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.28–2.30); the parallels are striking enough that one could posit a direct line of influence, from the heirloom seals to the seal of Aršāma.

In the case of the seal of Aršāma, the platform-like quality of the dead enemy also calls to mind a very common feature in Persepolitan glyptic, what we have called pedestal creatures. Pedestal creatures are (generally) composite animals that act as a platform for various types of activity, but especially heroic encounters and worship/cultic scenes. PFS 0164* (Figs. 2.20–2.21) is a nice example of a heroic encounter that employs such a device. It is noteworthy that of the eight royal-name seals of Darius, three of them, PFUTS 0018* (Figs. 2.58–2.59), PTS 01*, and PTS 03*, employ pedestal creatures (Garrison 2014a). In the case of

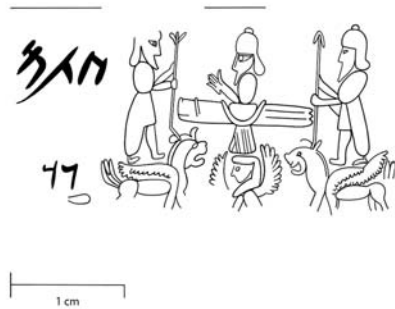


2.58. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 0018*.

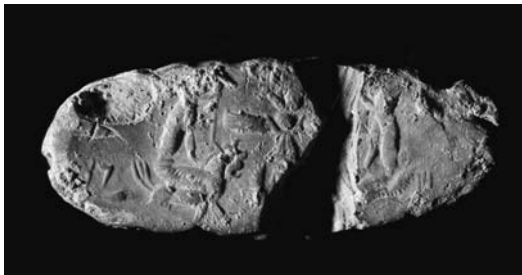
¹³⁸ In reviewing some of this evidence, Tuplin (2010: 105–6) concludes that there is little to suggest that the horse without a rider (or, indeed, scenes of horses with riders) has any ‘special symbolic force’.



2.59. Impression of PFUTS 0018* on the obverse of PFUT 0419-201.

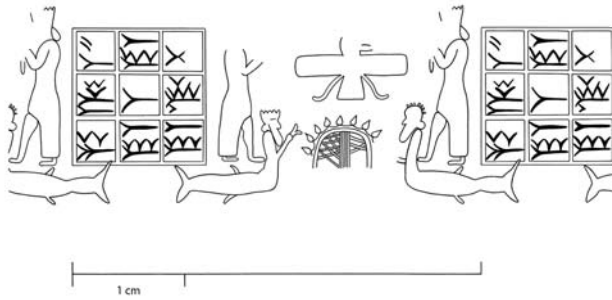


2.60. Collated line drawing of PFS 0082*.



2.61. Impression of PFS 0082* on the left edge of NN 1062.

PTS 01*, it is a combat heroic encounter, while PTS 03*, like PFUTS 0018*, is a control heroic encounter. PFS 0082* (Figs. 2.60–2.61) is an evocative example of the deployment of pedestal creatures in a worship/ritual scene. Here three creatures act as supports for the two attendants and the figure in the winged device. PFS 3035* (Figs. 2.62–2.63) is an artful composition wherein the



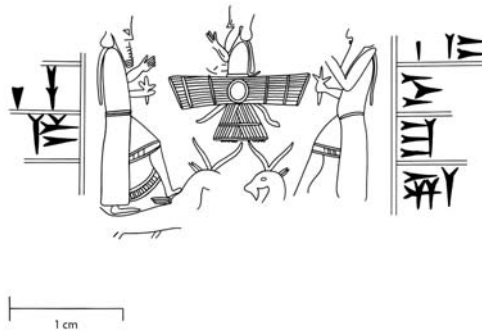
2.62. Collated line drawing of PFS 3035*.



2.63. Impression of PFS 3035* on the obverse of PFUT 0001-101.

attendants and the panelled inscription are elevated on pedestal creatures. The stylized tree serves a dual purpose, both as a numinous entity in and of itself as well as providing a 'pedestal' for the figure in the winged disk. PFS 1567* (Figs. 2.64–2.65) employs the same convention as we see on PFS 3035*, wherein the pedestal creatures support both the attendants and the panelled inscription; on PFS 1567* the horns of the pedestal creatures also delicately support the figure in the winged ring-in-disk. As with the seal of Aršāma, there are clearly defined horizontal zones within these scenes.

Pedestal creatures serve a very clear purpose in Persepolitan glyptic: they 'elevate' the scene. This elevation is no mere visual conceit, but a graphic marker of the numinous nature of the scene. Indeed, pedestal creatures are one of



2.64. Collated line drawing of the first seal of Ašbazana, PFS 1567*.



2.65. Impression of PFS 1567* on the left edge of PF 1853.

multiple devices that express the numinous, or numinous activity, via the concept of ascension in Achaemenid art.¹³⁹

The compositional convention of stacked figures on the seal of Aršāma may first and foremost be an inheritance from glyptic associated with the Teispid royal house (Figs. 2.27–2.32). The fact that Aršāma himself is a direct descendant of that royal house makes this potential link all the more plausible. Given, however, the sophistication of the composition on the seal of Aršāma, and given the doubled reference to the divine in the winged ring-in-disk and the crescent in the scene, it is highly likely that the significance of the dead combatants operates at multiple levels. On one (literal) level, the dead combatants serve a narrative function, signifying action that has taken place beforehand (as on PFS 0051 and PFS 0093*: see §5.5); on another level, they serve to enhance the military

¹³⁹ This visual trope is explored in some detail in Garrison 2011b. Note also the comments in Dusinberre (1997: 106–9) concerning the possibility that scenes with pedestal creatures indicate seal-users of high rank.

prowess of the principal protagonist (signifying strength through multiple dead and dying adversaries); on yet a third (metaphorical) level, the dead combatants ‘elevate’ the action (potentially signifying an ethereal plane). Thus, while the very ‘realness’ of the horses, garments, weapons, and so forth ground the image in a lived event, the dead-combatants-cum-pedestal-creatures and the literal presence of the numinous entities transpose the action to the unreal. The visual landscape evoked in the scene, as those at Bisotūn, Naqš-e Rostam, and Persepolis, is a complex one that operates on various levels of reading.¹⁴⁰

5.5. Narrative Time

The horses and dead adversaries on the seal of Aršāma (Fig. 2.1), PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26), and PTS 29 (Figs. 2.33–2.35) introduce yet another dynamic, that of narrative time. Commentators have long recognized that the medium of glyptic in ancient Western Asia was not conducive to elaborate visual narratives that expressed movement through time. Many scenes in glyptic have, of course, the potential to express movement through time, but via knowledge that a viewer may bring. So, for example, a scene in which there is a driver in a chariot could be read as capturing a specific moment, the chariot in motion, before which there must have been the preparation of the chariot, the driver getting into the chariot, the initiation of movement of the chariot, and so forth, and after which there will be continued movement, eventual cessation of movement, dismounting of the chariot, etc. What the seals under consideration here have, however, are specific visual markers that express that movement through time.

On the seal of Aršāma the horses and the dead adversaries could be read simply as visual markers that express the chaos of the battle field. However, the scene on the seal does not depict combat as a *generalized* phenomenon, but a *specific* combat between two specific individuals. One is thus encouraged to read the horses and the dead adversaries on a literal level as ‘background action’ that has brought us to this particular moment in time. In this reading, there is a sequence of clearly demarked actions:

- combatants ride onto the battlefield on horses and dismount;
- the principal protagonist kills in hand-to-hand combat one adversary;
- the principal protagonist kills in hand-to-hand combat a second adversary;
- the principal protagonist kills in hand-to-hand combat a third adversary;
- some action has taken place with bows and arrows; its exact place in the narrative sequence is only as an action in the past;

¹⁴⁰ See also the comments above (§5.1), concerning the allegorical reading of the adversaries as the ‘other’.

- the principal protagonist engages in hand-to-hand combat with a fourth adversary;
- the principal protagonist drives a spear into the shoulder of the fourth adversary;
- the fourth adversary has been mortally wounded and raises his arms in supplication;
- the fourth adversary, like the three before him, will be killed by the principal protagonist.

This is then an exceptionally dense temporal sequencing and one not commonly encountered in Persepolitan glyptic (indeed, in glyptic as a whole from ancient Western Asia). There are, however, some seals from Persepolis that clearly are closely related to the seal of Aršāma in their temporal complexity. Although relatively small in number, the seals appear to reflect a distinct glyptic tradition interested in articulating complex temporal sequencing.

To no surprise, the magnificent heirloom seals, PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32) and PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.27–2.30), which we have had occasion to discuss previously concerning the compositional trope of stacked figures, provide a starting point and probably represent the emergence of the particular tradition of temporal sequencing that we see in Persepolitan glyptic. On PFS 0051, the hunter on horseback readies a spear for throwing. Previous to this action, we see that he has thrown two spears, which extend from the backs of the two equids. PFS 0093*, although being a combat scene on horseback, shows several specific points of narrative contact with the seal of Aršāma:

- the principal protagonist rides onto the battlefield on a horse;
- the principal protagonist kills one adversary (who was on foot);
- the principal protagonist kills a second adversary (who was on foot);
- some action has taken place with bows and arrows; its exact place in the narrative sequence is only as an action in the past (broken bow);
- the principal protagonist engages in combat with a third adversary (who is on foot);
- the principal protagonist throws a spear that pierces the waist of the third adversary;
- the third adversary has been mortally wounded and raises his arms in supplication;
- the third adversary, like the two before him, will be killed by the principal protagonist.

The remarkable similarity in narrative sequence between PFS 0093* and the seal of Aršāma surely cannot be fortuitous but must mark a direct and deeply

structural connection (cf. §6 below).¹⁴¹ The combat scenes on PFUTS 0273* (Figs. 2.24–2.26) and PTS 29 (Figs. 2.33–2.35) show a similar use of dead adversaries to indicate movement through time, but the temporal sequencing is not as deep as that on the seal of Aršāma. The combat on PFS 2454 (Figs. 2.36–2.37) likewise exhibits a temporal sequencing comparable to that seen on the seal of Aršāma, but in this case indicated through both a dead adversary (most likely) and spent arrows:

- the principal protagonist kills one adversary (probably lying at his feet) with an arrow;
- the principal protagonist shoots an arrow at a second adversary, hitting him in the head;
- the principal protagonist shoots a second arrow at the second adversary, hitting him in the chest;
- the principal protagonist prepares to shoot a third arrow at the second adversary;
- the second adversary has been mortally wounded and raises one arm in supplication;
- the second adversary, like the one before him, will be killed by the principal protagonist.

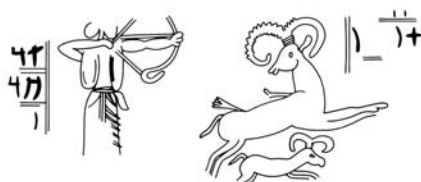
Some archer-scenes in Persepolitan glyptic likewise appear to reflect direct influence from this narrative tradition.¹⁴² We mention only four of them here by way of examples.

PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67) is particularly appropriate within this discussion given its use of stacked figures and the inclusion of an Aramaic inscription.¹⁴³ The composition recalls closely that on PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32). On PFS 1568*, an archer in the Persian court robe shoots a bow and arrow at two caprids, the one placed over the other. The lower caprid, much smaller in size, may in fact be dead, thus adding an extra layer to the temporal sequencing. Two arrows have hit the back of the larger caprid, and the archer has nocked a third arrow into his bow.

¹⁴¹ Garrison (2011a: 390–400) argues that this particular narrative tradition as well as certain aspects of style and the treatment of space seen in PFS 0093* and PFS 0051 are well documented in Assyrian monumental art of the late seventh century, especially the famous animal hunts of Assurbanipal from the Southwest Palace and North Palace at Nineveh. This is not to say, however, that PFS 0093* and PFS 0051 are Assyrian seals, or indeed that this narrative tradition in glyptic is Assyrian. In fact there is no indication of this narrative tradition in glyptic arts of the Neo-Assyrian period. The glyptic phenomenon appears to be a western Iranian one. Garrison (2011a) has suggested that the locus of this tradition is the highland zone traditionally associated with Anšan (rather than the lowlands of Khūzestān).

¹⁴² By archer-scenes we mean an archer who shoots a bow and arrow at an animal or fantastical creature.

¹⁴³ The seal is used by Harrena, the livestock chief. For this official see Henkelman n.d. 1 (and §3.2 above); for his seal see Garrison 2014b: 500–2, fig. 15.



2.66. Collated line drawing of PFS 1568*.

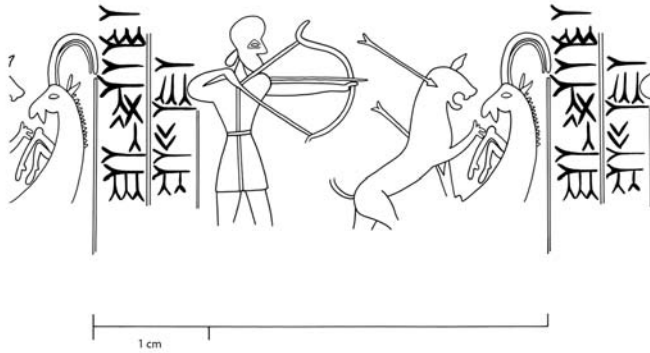


2.67. Impression of PFS 1568* on the reverse of NN 2572.

PFS 0071* (Figs. 2.6–2.7), noted above in connection with its depiction of the star and crescent (§5.2 with n. 128), is closely related to PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67). An archer dressed in the Persian court robe shoots at a rampant lion. A dead lion lies in the lower field between them. The temporal sequencing is deep:

- archer shoots an arrow at a lion;
- archer shoots a second arrow at the lion;
- the lion falls dead;
- archer shoots an arrow at a second lion (rampant);
- archer shoots a second arrow at the second lion;
- archer nocks a third arrow that he will shoot at the second lion;
- the second lion, like the one before, will be killed by the archer.

PFS 0035* (Figs. 2.68–2.70), another impressive design carrying an inscription, exhibits the same dynamic as the previous two seals, but it is rendered in



2.68. Collated line drawing of PFS 0035*.

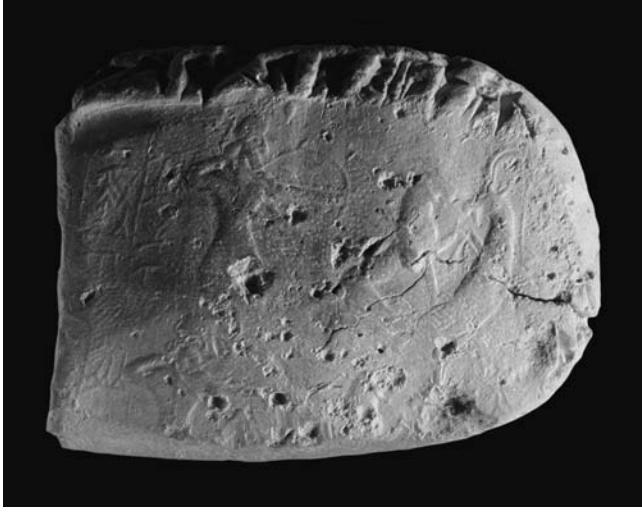


2.69. Impression of PFS 0035* on the reverse of PF 0484.

what we could characterize as a monumental mode.¹⁴⁴ An archer, dressed in a coat/tunic and trousers, shoots towards a lion attacking a fallen caprid. The theme is a popular one in Persepolitan glyptic and represents a revival of the age-old theme of protection of the herds, one not seen consistently in glyptic since the second millennium. Again, the temporal sequencing is deep:

- the lion attacks a caprid;
- the archer shoots one arrow at the lion;
- the archer shoots a second arrow at the lion;
- the archer nocks a third arrow that he will shoot at the lion;
- the lion will be killed by the archer.

¹⁴⁴ PFS 0035* occurs on some twenty-eight tablets studied to date. The dossier spans a variety of transactions, exhibits consistent sealing protocols, and has repeated supplier seals. These features suggest very strongly a *šaramanna* and/or *damanna* official of considerable authority. As is



2.70. Impression of PFS 0035* on the reverse of NN 2488.

The pose of the caprid, fallen on its back, is unusual. The Babylonian inscription is equally intriguing. Not only are there few Babylonian inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic, but this particular one is carved so as to be read in the stone rather than in impression, a very rare phenomenon among inscribed seals at Persepolis.¹⁴⁵

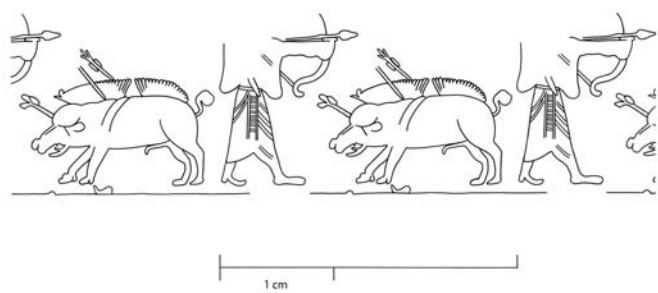
We end with two seals that show a more condensed narrative sequencing. PFS 2323 (Figs. 2.71–2.72) is a beautifully executed archer shooting at a boar. Three arrows have hit the boar, and the archer has nocked a fourth in his bow.¹⁴⁶ On PFS 0021 (Figs. 2.73–2.74) a single arrow flies through the air towards a stag, while the archer has nocked a second arrow in his bow.

The high occurrence of inscribed seals among these seals showing deep temporal sequencing is not coincidental. These scenes are sophisticated works of art executed by master engravers. The seal-users are high-rank

often the case, sorting out the exact official/office is not without some difficulties. Both Garrison (2017c: 67) and Henkelman (2008a: 247–8 n. 541) link PFS 0035* to Tiyama in his roles as both a *damanna* and a *šaramanna* official.

¹⁴⁵ The reading appears to be: [...] ʾraʾn daʾ áš ʾxʾ [...] [...] umʾ ma [...].

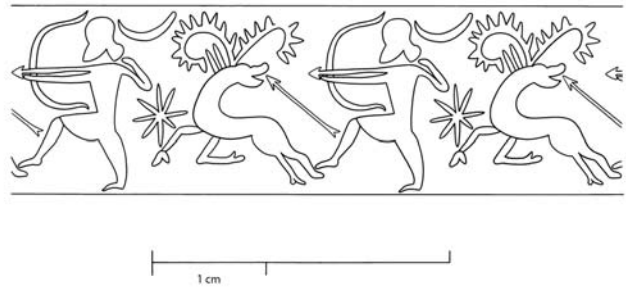
¹⁴⁶ For an extended analysis of PFS 2323, see Garrison 2011c.



2.71. Collated line drawing of PFS 2323.



2.72. Impression of PFS 2323 on the reverse of NN 2458.



2.73. Collated line drawing of PFS 0021.



2.74. Impression of PFS 0021 on the left edge of PF 1677.

members of the administrative bureaucracy and, in the case of Aršāma, a royal prince.¹⁴⁷

6. THE SEAL OF ARŠĀMA: VOICES FROM THE PAST

6.1. Seals and the Royal Family

When Irtašduna, wife of Darius I and mother of Iršama/Aršāma 1, needed to authorize her transactions or to seal her letter-orders, she used PFS 0038 (Figs. 2.2–2.3).¹⁴⁸ To no surprise, the seal is an exceptional glyptic artefact. Large and exceptionally well carved in a vibrant version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style, the imagery is a unique variation of the heroic encounter. While the heroic encounter is, of course, a popular theme at Persepolis, the version on PFS 0038 is distinguished by the winged human-faced bull-creatures, the Horus child, the Pleiades, the segmented device (a censer?) behind the bull-creature at left, and the elaborate stylized plant over which a partial figure in a starred nimbus floats.¹⁴⁹ Almost all of these features individually are unique within Persepolitan glyptic; their combination on one seal is thus all the more striking. While PFS 0038 is very different from the seal of Aršāma in its imagery and

¹⁴⁷ See also in this regard the comments in Garrison 2014b.

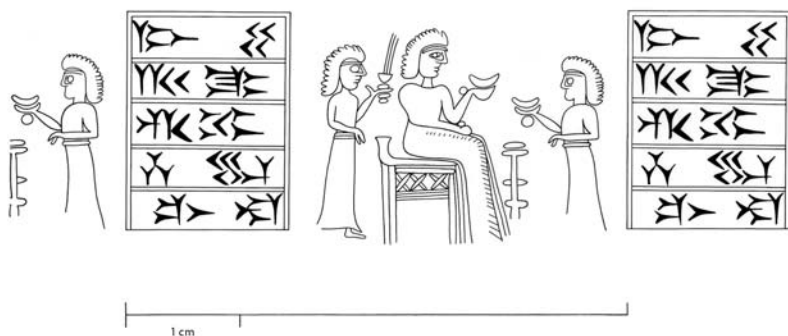
¹⁴⁸ As has long been recognized: see e.g. most recently Henkelman 2010: 698–703, Garrison 2014b: 496–7. For further references see §7.4 ad 4 below.

¹⁴⁹ For the heroic encounter in Persepolitan glyptic, see Garrison and Root 2001. To the list of exceptional features on PFS 0038 we may also add what appears to have been (the preservation is very poor) the very elaborate Assyrianizing garment that the hero wears. While the Assyrian garment is by far and away the most common garment type found in glyptic from the Fortification archive, it is generally treated in a very plain manner. In its elaborate decoration the garment of the hero on PFS 0038 is closely related to the garment worn by the hero on PFS 0016* (Figs. 2.4–2.5), another *tour de force* Assyrianizing masterpiece (cf. below).

style, the two seals nonetheless are both large, impressively carved glyptic artefacts that carry imagery that cannot be exactly paralleled by any other seal at Persepolis. That is, both PFS 0038 and the seal of Aršāma are works specially commissioned to stand out among the thousands of seals circulating at Persepolis.

The exceptionally strong Assyrianizing features in the seal of Irtašduna link it conceptually with her son's seal, even though the Assyrianizing elements on PFS 0038 are very different from those on the seal of Aršāma. In addition, at several points in the preceding analyses, we have noted linkages between the seal of Aršāma and the early-Persian heirloom seals PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32), used by the royal woman Irdabama, and PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.27–2.30), used by the royal livestock provisioner, a fully authorized representative of Darius I. In a previous study, Garrison (2011a) suggested that PFS 0051 and PFS 0093* were so closely related in style and composition that we probably have to do here with products from the same workshop, if not the same artistic hand. This glyptic workshop was firmly centred in the Assyrian visual tradition, yet situated in the early-Persian highlands of Pārsa.¹⁵⁰

Two other seals, PFS 0077* (Figs. 2.75–2.79) and PFS 0016* (Figs. 2.4–2.5), ought to be considered with PFS 0038 and the seal of Aršāma. PFS 0077*, a spectacular glyptic product, is an heirloom with stylistic links to PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32) and PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.27–2.30). It was used by a certain



2.75. Collated line drawing of PFS 0077*.

¹⁵⁰ On PFS 0051 and PFS 0093*, see Garrison 2011a, Garrison 2014b: 488–91, Henkelman 2010: 690–2, Henkelman 2011a: 599, 602–3 n. 71, with references to earlier literature. Garrison tentatively proposed to locate the workshop from which these seals stem at Anšan; certainly the Teispid dynasty claimed a close connection to this place. Regardless of the precise location of the ‘workshop’, it is clear that early-Persian Pārsa was the original functional context of the heirloom seals. See Henkelman 2018a: 809, 811–12, 816 on their significance for the subject of Elamo-Iranian acculturation and the growth of administrative structures in Pārsa. For the use of heirloom seals by members of the royal house and their agents see Garrison 2014b and n.d. 2.



2.76. Impression of PFS 0077* on the reverse of PF 1029.



2.77. Impression of PFS 0077* on the left edge of NN 1184.



2.78. Impression of PFS 0077* on the reverse of NN 1184.



2.79 Impression of PFS 0077* on the left edge of NN 1294.

Rašda, the main agent of Irdabama. Rašda apparently directly represented his royal mistress and applied PFS 0077* in her name.¹⁵¹

PFS 0016* (Figs. 2.4–2.5) is the second seal belonging to Parnakka, the director of the institutional household economy centred on Persepolis and probably of satrapal rank. As noted, stylistically and iconographically PFS

¹⁵¹ Like Irdabama herself, with PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32), Rašda used the seal of his office, PFS 0077*, in the single-seal protocol, underlining the authority vested in him by the royal woman. PFS 0077* may thus be situated in the innermost circle of Irdabama and can safely be said to belong to her court apparatus. See Henkelman 2008a: 358–9 n. 835, Henkelman 2010: 693–4, Garrison 2011a: 383–7, figs. 20–2. As noted by Garrison, while PFS 0077* emerges from the same glyptic environment as PFS 0051 and PFS 0093*, it is distinctly different in its treatment of space and figural composition and in some aspects of its carving style.

0016* is closely linked with PFS 0038, both seals probably originating in a virtuosic Assyrianizing workshop at Persepolis.¹⁵²

The six seals under discussion constitute a distinctive glyptic profile among some members of the Achaemenid royal family and individuals close to them (Parnakka and Rašda). Among this elite group of seal-users, we witness an *insistent* archaism, either in the form of archaic seals themselves (PFS 0051, PFS 0093*, PFS 0077*) or archaizing imagery and style, which evokes an Assyrian/highlands visual milieu (PFS 0016*, PFS 0038, PFS 2899* (Aršāma)).

The direct, indeed visceral, linkage to the Assyrian visual repertoire among this group of seal-users may at first blush seem somewhat surprising. The importance of the Assyrian phenomenon as a model for Achaemenid imperial project must, however, have been profound among Darius and his advisors. A pronounced Assyrian influence has long been recognized in Darius' victory relief at Bisotūn.¹⁵³ Glyptic at Persepolis now allows a much more nuanced picture of one of the manners in which Assyrian imagery would have been perpetuated among the Achaemenid ruling elite. The seals that have been highlighted in this study suggest that early-Persian and, more precisely, Teispid royal contexts played a particularly important role in this process.¹⁵⁴

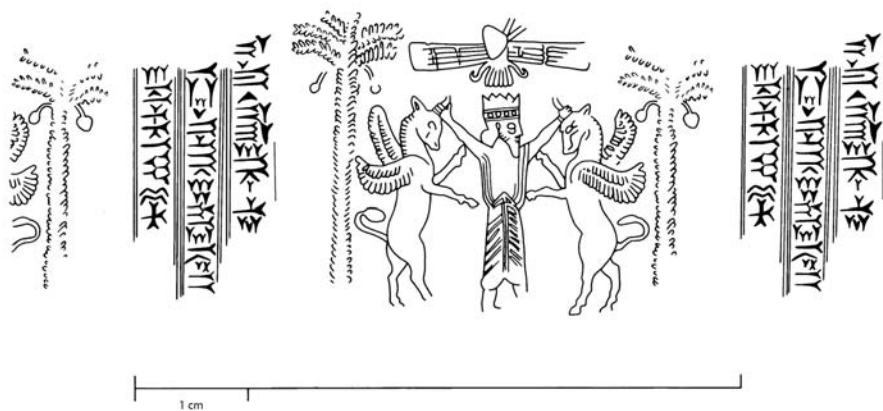
Pronounced Assyrianizing elements in seals linked to the royal family may also seem unexpected given traditional notions on how Achaemenid court art (in both glyptic and monumental relief) ought to look (e.g. PFS 0007* (Figs. 2.80–2.81), PFS 0011* (Figs. 2.82–2.83), and PFUTS 0018* (Figs. 2.58–2.59)):

- (a) compositional formulae that stress static and calm scenes often involving a crowned figure generally identified as the king or some metaphorical expression of Achaemenid kingship;
- (b) a distinctive court-centric iconographic repertoire that may include, among other items, the Persian court robe, dentate crown, palm trees, winged symbol, etc. (Garrison 2013).

¹⁵² For the status of Parnakka see Henkelman n.d. 1, n.d. 3. The inscription on PFS 0016*, the second seal of Parnakka, identifies him as the son of an Aršāma. Hallock's argument (1985 [1971]: 591, followed by Lewis 1977: 7–8 n. 25) that this Aršāma may have been Darius' grandfather and that Parnakka was thus the king's uncle should be regarded as inconclusive. First, the popularity of the name of Aršāma within the Achaemenid family, and plausibly beyond, seriously weakens the suggestion. The implicit notion of an 'uncle Parnakka' safely put away in a bureaucratic position has a certain *I, Claudius* ring to it. Other options are at hand; an alternative case could, for example, be made for Parnakka being the *cousin* of Darius I (see Henkelman 2010: 733). Parnakka's membership of the (wider) royal house would certainly agree well with our remarks on Achaemenid royal glyptic, but since we cannot prove such a connection, we will not press the issue.

¹⁵³ See e.g. Root 1979: 202–18, including compositional types, iconography, and style.

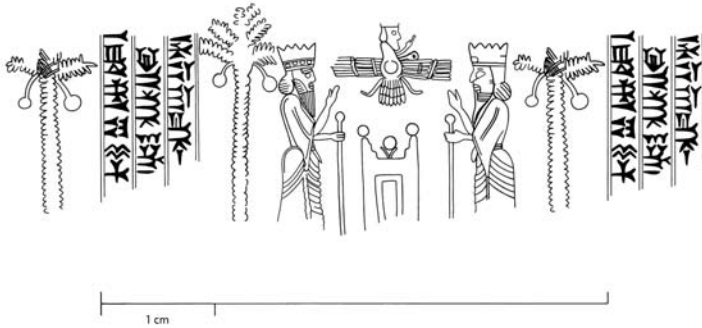
¹⁵⁴ Aspects of the role played by Cyrus and the Teispid royal house in the transmission of Assyrianizing imagery into the Neo-Elamite and early Achaemenid visual landscape are woven into multiple articles in Álvarez-Mon and Garrison 2011a; see in particular Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach 2011, Álvarez-Mon 2011, Garrison 2011a, Álvarez-Mon and Garrison 2011b.



2.80. Collated line drawing of PFS 0007*.



2.81. Impression of PFS 0007* on the reverse of PF 0702.



2.82. Collated line drawing of the second seal of Ziššawiš, PFS 0011*.



2.83. Impression of PFS 0011* on the upper edge of PF 1820.

In some cases, Achaemenid court art is rendered in a distinctive carving style that employs large broad figures with sharp outlines rendered in a flat to moderately modelled carving technique. This particular glyptic carving style is often today called the ‘Court Style’, although there is a good deal of variation among commentators concerning what exactly is meant by this label.¹⁵⁵ Garrison has suggested that we limit the term Achaemenid Court Style to a

¹⁵⁵ See discussion in Garrison 2013, Garrison 2014a and b; of other commentators, note especially Boardman 2000: 152–74, Merrillees 2005: 22–3, 26–43.

particular style of carving (as opposed to a blanket term used to identify seals that deploy Achaemenid court-centric iconography and compositional formulae) of which the paradigmatic exemplars are the royal-name seals at Persepolis, i.e. those seals carrying inscriptions naming Darius or Xerxes (as e.g. PFS 0007* (Figs. 2.80–2.81), PFS 0011* (Figs. 2.82–2.83), and PFUTS 0018* (Figs. 2.58–2.59)).¹⁵⁶

The seals belonging to members of the royal family and individuals close to them very clearly announce themselves as something quite distinct from the Achaemenid Court Style *via* their exceptionally strong Assyrianizing style, compositional formulae, and/or iconography. Not only are these seals not carved in the Achaemenid Court Style, they lack almost any reference to Achaemenid court-centric iconography.¹⁵⁷ This phenomenon cannot simply represent idiosyncrasies in our data but must signify an attempt to establish a distinct glyptic signature for this particular social group.

As articulated elsewhere, the very earliest examples of Achaemenid Court Style seals, the royal-name seals of Darius, belong to, or are used by, high rank administrators such as Ziššawiš (PFS 0011* (Figs. 2.82–2.83)), the deputy to Parnakka. As far as we can tell, however, these administrators do not have direct ties by marriage or birth to the royal family. The royal-name seals of Darius, and by extension the earliest examples of the Achaemenid Court Style in glyptic, appear thus to represent a specific glyptic signature of another distinctive socio-administrative group at Persepolis.¹⁵⁸

We can state with some assurance that the data under review point to a complex system of glyptic signification at Persepolis wherein distinct styles (and in some cases imagery) code distinct social groups: virtuosic heirloom and Assyrianizing seals the royal family, Court Style seals high-rank administrators with less direct ties to the royal family.¹⁵⁹

The fortuitous discovery of the seal of Aršāma at Persepolis adds an important document to the dossier on the royal family at Persepolis at the time of Darius I. By extension, the occurrence of the seal of Aršāma on the letter-*bullae*

¹⁵⁶ Garrison 2013 discusses the royal-name seals of Darius (PFS 0007*, PFS 0011*, PFS 0113* (= PTS 04*), PFUTS 0018*, PTS 01*, PTS 02*, and PTS 03*). For the royal-name seals of Xerxes (PTS 05*, PTS 06*, PTS 07*, and PTS 08*), see Root 1979: 121–2, Schmidt 1957: 20–2, pls. 4–5.

¹⁵⁷ The exception is the winged disk on the seal of Aršāma.

¹⁵⁸ Garrison (2014a and b) suggests that the emergence of the Achaemenid Court Style in glyptic, at Persepolis at the end of the sixth century, marks an attempt on the part of the central authority to bind a certain socio-administrative group to the imperial project via gifting of high prestige seals that articulate, for the first time, a distinctive message in the glyptic arts concerning Achaemenid kingship. As such, the glyptic programme echoes and reinforces (but does not copy) the imperial programmes in monumental relief and coinage.

¹⁵⁹ These glyptic codes are explored more fully in Garrison 2014a and b.

in the Bodleian collection suggests that patterns of glyptic ‘behaviour’ as explored in this study were not limited to the age of Darius I but were deeply entrenched within the imperial family through time.

6.2. The Construction of the Past

In its original setting—late sixth century Pārsa—the seal of Aršāma (Fig. 2.1) distinguished itself by its large size, the specific title used in the inscription, its exceptional imagery, and select iconographic and compositional elements connected with Assyrian and highland Iranian art. Many of these features link the seal of Aršāma with some of the heirloom seals used by members of the royal family (specifically PFS 0051 and PFS 0093*). By the time it recurs, in the second half of the fifth century, the seal of Aršāma itself had become an heirloom in the hands of Aršāma 2, who, as we posited, was a descendant and perhaps grandson of the original seal-owner, Iršāma/Aršāma 1. It is a fortunate circumstance that we can study these two phases in the life of the same seal. For other known Achaemenid heirloom seals—in the Fortification archive—only the latter phase is visible to us. Nevertheless, they offer the critical starting point for a discussion of the phenomenon of prestige heirloom seals.

The most conspicuous heirlooms are PFS 0051 (Figs. 2.31–2.32), belonging to Irdabama, and PFS 0093* (Figs. 2.27–2.30), employed by the royal commissioner responsible for livestock procurements for consumption at the court. PFS 0077* (Figs. 2.75–2.79), used by Irdabama’s agent Rašda, provides a third important case.

PFS 0093* appears to connect directly to the Teispid past in the sense that its inscription mentions a ‘Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešpeš’ (Teispes). Yet, the connection may have been more complicated than a surface reading would suggest. That the seal was used at the royal court of Darius I probably means that it had been handed down in the Teispid family previously. This, however, does not necessarily imply that there was accurate knowledge about the dynastic line from Šešpeš down to Bardiya. Rather than assuming that there was a reliable historical framework into which Darius or Cyrus could fit PFS 0093*, the seal itself may have become an argument for projections into the distant past. The neat genealogy Cyrus offered in the *Cyrus Cylinder*—Cyrus, son of Cambyses, grandson of Cyrus, descendant of Teispes—suggests a suspiciously stable and linear succession. Judging it should not be reduced, however, to a binary opposition: the genealogy was true enough in its own context, but its effective significance does not equal historical accuracy. Indeed, it is entirely possible that seal PFS 0093* provided the inspiration for and became

the backbone of a view that connected Cyrus directly to a legendary founder named Šešpeš.¹⁶⁰

PFS 0051, the personal seal of the royal woman Irdabama, speaks directly to the Teispid past via its intimate visual connection with PFS 0093*. As Garrison has noted (1991: 4–5, 2011a: 383), the two seals are so tightly bound in composition, iconography, and style that we must have to do with the same workshop. That PFS 0051 and PFS 0093* both occur within the context of the Fortification archive cannot be simply fortuitous.

PFS 0077*, used by Rašda on behalf of Irdabama presents a second voice from the past. The seal image is that of an audience scene with two female figures; the seal inscription mentions a ‘Šeraš, daughter of Huban-ahpi’. The inscription, the connection of the seal to Irdabama, the fact that Irdabama had an estate at Šullaggi, and the observation that a certain Huban-ahpi occurs in a Neo-Elamite context in connection with Šullaggi, led Henkelman to the proposal that Irdabama stemmed from a local Elamite (or Elamite–early Persian) dynasty. If she was the mother of Darius, his father, Hystaspes, would have made a judicious choice marrying into an old family, perhaps with extensive landed property. A similar argument could be made if Irdabama were one of the wives of Darius.¹⁶¹ Be that as it may, the use of heirloom seals by Irdabama herself (PFS 0051) and her agent (PFS 0077*) is hardly a coincidence. The seal of Šeraš, with its conspicuous female audience scene, would appear to highlight Irdabama’s own exalted position and underline a connection, real or construed, with a more distant past. Whatever the exact relation between Irdabama and Šeraš (if any), the seal clearly had become an argument in the construction of Irdabama’s royal persona.¹⁶²

The seal of Aršāma, as used by Aršāma 2, fits the same profile of seals that, by their antiquity, their inscription (‘Aršam, royal prince’) and their seal image

¹⁶⁰ For further discussion of PFS 0093* and its implications see Henkelman 2011a: 598–603, with nn. 70–1, Garrison 2011a: 375–81, Waters 2011: 290–2. On the name of Šešpeš see Henkelman 2014 and 2017c: 292–3 n. 34.

¹⁶¹ There is no explicit evidence for Irdabama’s relationship to Darius, but her exalted status can only logically mean that she was either his mother or one of his wives. The fact that she alone bore the title of *abbamuš* and that she had an economic profile unmatched by other royal women would befit a queen-mother, but it does not exclude a royal wife with exceptional status. On Irdabama’s profile in the Fortification archive see: Koch 1994: 136–8, Brosius 1996: 129–44, Henkelman 2018c: 32–36 (with full bibliography). Irdabama (*Rtabāma-: Tavernier 2007: 474 (5.3.2.1)) was unknown to Greek historians, as was the name of Darius’ mother; there is, therefore, no *a priori* objection to identify Irdabama as the queen-mother. Harpocration does mention a Rhodogune, wife of Hystaspes and mother of *both* Darius and Xerxes (Harpocration *Lex.* ρ/5, repeated in Phot. *Lex.* ρ/135, *Suda* ρ/200), but his testimony does not challenge the argument, as it is late, garbled, and perhaps influenced by the tradition, found in the *Alexander Romance*, that made a Rhodogune mother of Darius III. Justi’s attempt (1895: 261) to rescue it by invocation of the mammonymic principle in the case of Xerxes’ daughter Rhodogune does little to help, for Ctesias (688 F13.24) does *not* say of this Rhodogune, but only of her sister, Amytis, that she was named after her grandmother.

¹⁶² See Henkelman 2011a: 613–14 and 2018a: 811.

offer opportunities for the construction of historical narratives. Undoubtedly, Aršāma 2 saw his own position and status as related to that of the Aršāma who had been the son the Darius the Great. And though the original seal-holder or indeed the master artist who created the seal probably did not see the scene as a reflection or record of a precise historical episode, Aršāma 2 and his milieu may very well have done so. Indeed, the seal image offers ample opportunity for a heroization of the past, in the same way that PFS 0093* may have done for Cyrus and Darius. More generally, the later fifth and fourth centuries could look back at the early Achaemenid period with some historical distance, add layers of reflection to it, and re-use and re-shape elements taken from it. The recurrence of the name of 'Cyrus', with its Teispid echoes, for a royal prince during the lifetime of Aršāma 2 is but one example.

It may be said of the heirloom seals used by members of the Achaemenid royal house and their agents that their seal imagery serves not only an administrative mode of communication (i.e. the identification of distinct individuals or offices within an administrative system) but also an 'imaginary' mode of communication (i.e. the articulation of abstract socio-political concepts and the construction and fostering of narratives relating to the seal-owner). Even in the administrative mode, a seal impression represents the authority and/or will of a certain person and thus becomes the bearer of his or her *persona*. This observation holds true *a fortiori* for the imaginary mode of communication of inherited seals: here, the seal image may actively shape the holder's *persona* set against a remembered or construed history.

In the particular case of PFS 0051, PFS 0093*, PFS 0077*, and the seal of Aršāma (as used by Aršāma 2), the imaginary mode is unusually active, if only because the seals are elite heirloom seals. They suggest an intimate connection, if not a certain identification, with a magnificent predecessor or ancestor, whose status may already have become half-legendary and parts of whose *persona* the current seal-holder seeks to adopt for him- or herself. The antiquity of some of these seals enhances their almost magical aura. The idea of a living past, moreover, was much enforced by the inscriptions on three of the seals:

PFS 0093* 'Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešpeš'

PFS 0077* 'Šeraš, daughter of Huban-ahpi'

PFS 2899* 'Seal of Aršam, royal prince'

The statement of a name in a seal inscription, more than identifying the owner, explicitly and intimately connects his or her *persona* with the seal and its image. This relation receives much additional depth when the seal continues to be used after the demise of the original owner: each time it is impressed, his or her name is activated and, in a way, kept alive. In an ancient Near Eastern setting,

where preserving one's name was of capital concern, this constituted a crucial act of remembrance. And, in families following the papponymic principle, every time one's ancestor's name is called out, one's own name and persona are directly touched by it. This is, we imagine, how the seal of Aršāma resounded long after its creation, weaving connections with the heroic past and giving voice to a legendary self-awareness.

Appendix: Elamite Texts Concerning Aršāma 1

Wouter F. M. Henkelman

All texts below, except Fort. 0965-201, were read by Richard Hallock. PF 0309, PF 0734, PF 0733 and PF 2035 were published in Hallock 1969. NN 0958, previously unpublished, was available to us in Hallock's manuscript edition. All texts were (re-)collated by Henkelman and provided with (new) translations and notes. The transliteration style follows the conventions adopted by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project. Seal identifications are by Garrison.

Fort. 1839-101, a livestock inventory, mentions, among many other names, an ^{HAL}*ir-šá-ma* (line 25). Though it cannot be ruled out completely, this Iršama is unlikely to be the same as Iršama/Aršāma 1, son of Irtašduna and Darius. The text is therefore not included in this section.

1. NN 0958 (Fig. 2.84, Pl. 9 (middle, bottom))

Location: on long-term loan in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Format: tongue-shaped letter-order

Seal: PFS 2899* (seal of Aršāma) left edge, reverse, and upper edge

Edition: unpublished manuscript edition by R. T. Hallock; translation in Henkelman and Kleber 2007: 167

Obverse

- (01) [DİŠ]rú⁷-šá-⁷ia tu₄⁷-ru-
- (02) r⁷iš⁷ ^{HAL}*ir-šá-ma* na-
- (03) an KI+MIN 1 ME ^{GIŠ}
- (04) BAR^{MEŠ} ^{GIŠ}*tar-mu*^{MEŠ}
- (05) ^{AŠ}*ma-da-na-iš*
- (06) ^{AŠ}*ul-hi*^{MEŠ} ^{HAL}*ú-*
- (07) *ni-⁷na⁷-ma-mar* ^{HAL}

Lower edge

- (08) *šu-⁷ra⁷-u-ba id-*
- (09) *du* ^r^{AŠ}⁷*be-ul*

Reverse

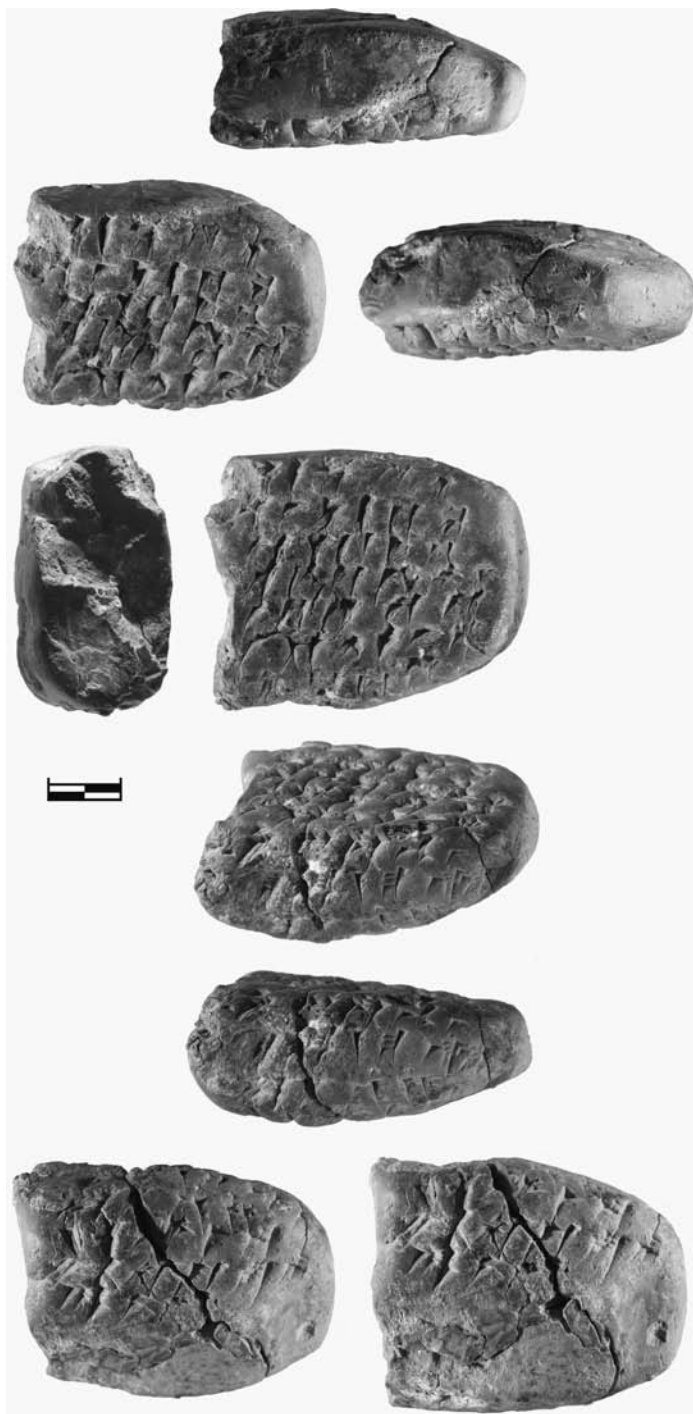
(10) 24-um-me-na

(11) ^{HAL}mas-du-ma-ka₄ hi-(12) ra-kur-^Γra^Γ

⁰¹⁻⁰² Speak to Ušaya, ⁰²⁻⁰³ Iršama speaks as follows: ⁰³⁻⁰⁴ ‘1,000 l. *tarmu* (emmer?)
⁰⁵⁻⁰⁷ from my estate at Madanaš (Matannan) ⁰⁸⁻⁰⁹ issue to Šurauba!’ ⁰⁹⁻¹⁰ 24th
 year (498/7). ¹¹⁻¹² Masdumaka is the deliveryman.

01. Ušaya (*^(H)uçaṣyā: Tavernier 2007: 204 (4.2.781)): name of a series of individuals in PFA. The Ušaya addressed in NN 0958 was a steward at Matannan, where queen Irtašduna and, as appears from the present text, Iršama, had an *ulhi*, here ‘estate’. Presumably the same person receives *tarmu* on behalf of Irtašduna at her estate at Matannan in NN 1685 (Dar.22); a similar transaction is recorded in NN 2450 (Dar.24), but without mention of Irtašduna. In two other texts, Ušaya is responsible for the ration logistics of a group of female workers (*kurtaš*) of Irtašduna (NN 1238 and NN 2497, both X/25). Finally, Ušaya hands out (and transports?) food products on the basis of fruit and barley to officials at Ecbatana, for consumption at Irtašduna’s court (NN 0454, Dar.25; edition and commentary in Henkelman 2017a: 199–202). Ušaya, in short, was an agent of queen Irtašduna. As a member of her own administrative staff, he appears in a series of roles, which, in the wider institutional network, would not typically be assumed by the same individual.
04. *tarmu*: the interpretation ‘emmer’ was first proposed by Henkelman 2010: 750–3. The word may be a cognate or a loan from Skt. *dūrvā*-, ‘(a kind of) grass, fodder, spelt’ (cf. O.Dutch *tarwa*, ‘wheat’): see Henkelman 2017a: 61–2 n. 24.
05. Madanaš: this form occurs only here but may, on contextual grounds, be equated with Matannan (regularly ^{AS}ma-tan-na, ^{AS}ma-ta-na-an; rarely ^{AS}ma-tan-na-um, ^{AS}ma-tan-na-na). The final -š is the generalized nominative ending the scribes of PFA used to mark loanwords from Old Iranian (compare the generalized -m ending in ^{AS}ma-tan-na-um in NN 1876). It is not uncommon with toponyms but thus far only once attested with the name of Matannan. In fact, ‘Matannan’ may not be an Iranian name after all. The singular addition of -š may be regarded as an example of the idiosyncrasies of the privy secretary/ies of Irtašduna and Iršama/Aršāma 1 (Henkelman 2017a: 196, 201). It does not, however, occur in the letter-order from Irtašduna pertaining to Matannan (NN 0761).

There are, including the present text, almost forty attestations of Matannan (see Vallat 1993: 177, to which add Fort. 0424-106:11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 33, Fort. 0466-101:15'-17', 18'-20', 30, Fort. 0661-101:5-7, 9-11, 12-13, 11', Fort. 0889-101, Fort. 1298-101:05', 13', Fort. 1371-102, Fort. 1983-101). ‘Madana’ (PF 0144, Fort. 1388-101) and ‘Madan’ (Fort.



2.84. NN 0958: upper edge, obverse (2×), left edge, obverse, lower edge (2×), reverse (2×).

1216-103) may be imprecise forms of the same toponym, but the relevant texts offer no clues to substantiate this idea.

Matannan also occurs, as Matnānu, in YOS 7 187, a text from Uruk's Eanna temple concerning the organization of a team of forty workers who are to 'perform the work at the palace of the king, which (lies) in the town of Matnānu' during the reign of Cambyses (Henkelman and Kleber 2007, Kleber 2008: 193–4, Tolini 2011: 1.93–4).

In PFA, Matannan appears as a place where grain (barley, *tarmu*) and especially various kinds of fruit were produced. Most, if not all, contexts may refer to the estate of Irtašduna (and Iršama/Aršāma 1). In case of deposits of commodities, this is usually not made explicit; the various groups of workers (*kurtaš*) on the site are usually said to be 'of Irtašduna', however. A special case is the *kursura*, a specialist of wall painting or brick reliefs, at Matannan, presumably (re-)decorating Irtašduna's mansion (NN 1876, see Henkelman 2017b: 281). For further discussion of the Matannan file see Hinz 1971: 298, Koch 1990: 21, 148–51, Brosius 1996: 125–7, Uchitel 1997, Briant 2002: 446, Henkelman and Kleber 2007: 166–9, 172–4, Henkelman 2010: 698–703, Henkelman 2011a: 579–81, Henkelman 2018c: 29–31, 45.

The village (*humanuš*: PF 1857:17–18) Matannan seems to have been located in proximity of Kuknakkan, another estate of Irtašduna, and of Tirazziš (in or near modern Širāz). See Henkelman and Kleber 2007: 172 n. 25, Henkelman 2017a: 196–7. The name of Matannan is probably reflected in Ptolemy's Μαίτονα (*Geogr.* 6.4.6: see Metzler 1977: 1057).

06. *ulhi*: continuing Middle Elamite *ul-hu* and *ul-hi*, and Neo-Elamite ^(AŠ)*ul-hi*^{MEŠ}, Achaemenid-Elamite ^{AŠ}*ul-hi*^{MEŠ} (once *ul-hi*^{MEŠ}, NN 0761) is marked with the determinative for location (^{AŠ}) and that for logograms, loanwords, and words with historical spellings (^{MEŠ}). In the case of *ulhi*, the second determinative marks a historical spelling and indicates that the *h*, although still written, was no longer phonemic, hence pointing to a pronunciation /ul(i)/. The unique expression ^{AŠ}*ul* ^{HAL}*EŠŠANA-ṛma*² (NN 1573), could accordingly be understood as 'in the house of the king', but the context makes it more likely that it is an imprecise rendering of ^{AŠ}*hal-mi*^(MEŠ) ^{HAL}*EŠŠANA-na-ma*, 'in agreement with a sealed document (travel authorization) from the King'. For pre-Achaemenid attestations see Steve 1967: 11, 16, Hinz and Koch 1987 s.vv. *ul-hi*, *ul-hi.lg*, *h.ul-hi.lg.e*, *ul-hu*.

In Achaemenid Elamite, *ulhi* serves as an equivalent to OP *viθ-*, Akk. *bītu*, and Aram. *byt*, giving it a wide range of meanings, ranging from 'house', 'palace', and 'estate' to 'royal domain', 'royal house', and 'dynasty' (cf. Hinz and Koch 1987: 1217 s.v. *h.ul-hi.lg*, Briant 2002: 445–6). Crucially, the Elamite version of the Bīsotūn inscription, in one and the same paragraph, uses the word for (workers attached to) 'estates' (DB_e I.49), as well as, in an abstract sense, for 'royal house' or 'dynastic line' (I.53, 54; also III.81; see Henkelman 2018c: 25–28, with references).

There are currently eighteen texts mentioning *ulhi* in the Fortification archive (excluding the uncertain reading 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 in NN 1022, mentioned by Tuplin i 159). In six of these, the word is used as reference to the royal domain at large: surplus is exchanged for livestock, an ass, and a female slave in the *ulhi sunki-na*, ‘house of the king’ (PF 1987:30–3, Fort. 1365-101:6–9 and Fort. 1294-101:14–16; NN 2355:11–15)); barley and livestock are issued from the same domain upon the orders of Darius (NN 1528, Fort. 6764). It is clear that this use of *ulhi* is metaphorical: it is deployed as a catch-all term for the entirety of royal assets or *patrimonium Caesaris*: see Briant 2002: 463–71, Briant 2006, Henkelman 2005: 149, 151–2, Henkelman 2008a: 417–24, Henkelman 2010: 668–9, 733, Tamerus 2016: 275, 279–80.

A second category, including the current document, consists of seven letter-orders by royal individuals, instructing their staff to issue produce from their *ulhi* at certain places. In these contexts, *ulhi* clearly has the meaning of ‘estate’ (Tuplin i 158–162). The letter-orders are by Irtašduna (PF 1835, NN 2523 (Mirandu), PF 1836, PF 1837 (Kuknakkan), NN 0761 (Matannan)), Irdabama (PFa 27 (Šullaggi)), and Iršama (NN 0958 (Matannan)).

Of the remaining cases, three concern commodities delivered from the *ulhi* of various individuals: Ramannuya (PF 1855, referring to ‘our *ulhi*’), Napartanna (PF 2075 (collated)) and Untukka (NN 1548). Ramannuya is not otherwise attested (Hallock’s suspicion (1969: 53), that he might be a member of the royal family was informed by a too narrow definition of *ulhi*). Napartanna occurs as a logistics official (PF 1941, PF 1981), a function that regularly came with the tenure of an estate. (On this person see further Henkelman and Stolper n.d.) Untukka does not occur elsewhere, unless 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 is an imprecise spelling for regular 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣 . This Hindukka may have been a satrapal treasurer; he occurs with armed troops as well as with groups transporting tribute; he has a connection with Kermān but also, perhaps, with the (sub-)satrapy of the Islands in the Persian Gulf (Henkelman 2017a: 52–3 n. 8; cf. Henkelman 2010: 708).

Fort. 1868-103 mentions *ulhi* three times (lines 26, 28, 33[?]), but the contexts are broken and hard to understand. Apparently, there is an exchange of commodities or documents with the ‘own’ (*du-e*) *ulhi* of one of the officials implicated in the account, but even the reading of *du-e* (which appears twice) is uncertain.

NN 1133 is a receipt for wine issued to Kambarma upon a sealed order from the king: Kambarma received the wine while on his way to the *ulhi* (of) Karma. There is little doubt, given the seal of the recipient (PFS 0857s) and other elements, that Kambarma is Gaubar(u)va/Gobryas, fellow-conspirator and in-law of Darius (Root 1991: 19–21, Gates 2002: 108, 126–7, Henkelman 2008a: 317–18 n. 734, Henkelman 2011b: 12–13, Henkelman n.d. 1, Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 284–7, Garrison 2014b: 497–501). Karma cannot be identified, but the fact that his *ulhi* is recognized as a travel

destination of Kambarma is certainly conspicuous and suggests a high status. Finally, Fort. 2173-102:9-10 and Fort. 2020-101:46-48 (see Stolper n.d.) also mention *ulhi* in a travel context; these passages require further elaboration but seem to fit the profile here described.

The available attestations of *ulhi* clearly point to the highest echelons of Persian society. The word may refer to the royal household or domain (as an institution) or to the landed estates of members of the royal house. Other than that, there are at least four cases where *ulhi* seems to point to estates held by high-ranking individuals. This last use has parallels in other institutional or semi-institutional sources, where Aramaic *byt* (ADAB A6:10, TADAE A6.11, A6.12), and Akkadian *bītu* (Murašû archive, *passim*) may refer to non-royal estates. By contrast, the Fortification archive normally prefers the term *irmadim* for non-royal land holdings and reserves *ulhi* for higher echelons (cf. App. 7.4. ad 09f.). There are no certain attestations of *irmadim* in royal contexts (in Fort. 2238-017, relating to Irdabama, the word is restored). One may therefore agree with Briant, that *ulhi* and *irmadim* may express differences in status, even if the distribution of the two terms is not entirely consistent (Briant 2002: 446).

- 07f. Šurauba: this name occurs only here; it may be Iranian, but a convincing etymology is not at hand (Tavernier 2007: 490 (5.3.2.192)). Hallock, in his manuscript edition of NN 0958, likened it to a name he had read as ^{HAL}š_u-ru-ba in PF 0810, PF 2076:35, and NN 1985. The bearer(s) of this name is/are connected to the western Fahliyān region (PF 0810, NN 1985) and a place in the vicinity of Tamukkan (PF 2076:35); both are far from Matannan. Moreover, the reading ^{HAL}š_u-ru-ba is possibly to be corrected to ^{HAL}kat₇-ru-ba, *Kāθrupā- (so Hinz 1973: 115; cf. Gershevitch 1969a: 201, Hinz 1975a: 151, Tavernier 2007: 230 (4.2.971)).
- 08f. *iddu*: the translation ‘issue!’ implies analysis of the term as a stem imperative from *dunu*-, ‘to give’, preceded by the personal pronoun *in*, ‘it’ (object form), hence **in dunu* > **i(d)dunu* > **idnu* > *iddu* (despite Vallat 1994: 266-7). Compare 1Conj. indicative forms such as *iddunuš*, ‘he gave it’ (PF 1211) and *idduš*, ‘he gave it’ (NN 0156); syncope of the second syllable is a regular feature in (later) Elamite. For further discussion see Henkelman 2003: 105-6 (and compare Grillot-Susini 2008: 12 on the *nd* > *dd* assimilation).
10. Year 24: a month date was apparently not necessary; the same is true for all the letter-orders by Irtašduna. All texts mentioning Iršāma/Aršāma 1 are from Dar.24; only Fort. 0965-201, a small tablet fragment, has no preserved date (see below).
11. ^{HAL}mas-du-ma-ka₄: Hallock read 𐎠du[?], which seems unnecessarily cautious. The sign is complete and has almost the same form as *du* in line 9; a reading

ap is not entirely excluded, but hardly expected in this sequence. The last sign of the name, *ka*₄, is written over the excessively long tail of *na* in line 10 (Hallock read it as *tu*, with query). The name occurs only in NN 0958.

12. *hirakurra*: Hinz first proposed analysis of this appellative as **īra-kara-*, ‘wörtlich “Energie-Macher”, also etwa “Kommissar”’ (Hinz 1973: 94; cf. Hinz 1975a: 142). Though the interpretation found acceptance from Tavernier (2007: 426 (4.4.7.68), ‘commissioner’, lit. ‘energy-maker’), it cannot convince in this form.

The idea that a *hirakurra* was an agent or commissary (i.e. someone with an official charge, *commissarius*) is clearly derived from PFA contexts; it presents a tentative description rather than an analysis of the term. The supposed ‘literal’ translation, by contrast, is based on Avestan *īra-* (n.), for which Bartholomae offers ‘Anlauf, Angriff’ as well as ‘Energie, Tatkraft’ (Bartholomae 1904: 372). The second interpretation rests solely on *auuamīrā* in Y. 49.10, a compound of obscure meaning and uncertain analysis, yet probably unrelated to *īra-* (Pirart 1985, Humbach 1991: 212). This leaves only two attestations of *īra-* (*īrā* in Yt. 10.14, *irəm* in Yt. 13.26), presumably a noun based on the present stem *īra-*, ‘to reach’, itself a reduplicated form of *ar-*, ‘to put into motion, to move oneself, to send, to bring’ (De Vaan 2003: 243; cf. Mayrhofer 1992: 105–6). The common, yet tentative interpretation for the two Avestan occurrences, ‘attack’, is derived from context; as a developed meaning it does not necessarily apply to Old West-Iranian **īra-*. The latter is not only found in **īra-kara-* but also in the compound theonym Mariraš, again in the Fortification archive, an Elamograph of *(H)uvar-*īra-*, divine ‘Sun-rise’: see Tavernier 2007: 98 (4.1.3); Humbach 1979 is sceptical; on the deity see Henkelman n.d. 2 §2.7.

Altogether, the linguistic evidence does not support ‘energy-maker’, but it does allow for a range of alternative interpretations of **īra-kara-*, from ‘delivery-maker’ to, in more developed sense, ‘director’ (i.e. one who organizes, stirs motion). This comes close to Koch’s ‘Überbringer’ (of the order), a proposal presumably deriving from context and offered without argumentation (Koch 1990: 94 n. 409; also mentioned in Hinz and Koch 1987 s.v. *hi-ra-kur-ra*).

Eight of the currently known attestations of *hirakurra* are from letter-orders from Irtašduna (PF 1835-1839, NN 0761, NN 1137, NN 2523), the ninth from the letter-order of Iršama (NN 0958; Hallock’s restoration of the word in NN 2403 is very uncertain). It is possible that *hirakurra* denotes a function or office that existed only in the sphere of queen Irtašduna and her son; it is equally possible that the term represents an idiosyncrasy of their scribe(s) and refers to a function or office otherwise indicated by a different (Elamite) term.

PF 1835 offers the most instructive context. In it, Irtašduna orders the allocation of wine to a certain Ankama and concludes *Utar hirakurraš-še*, ‘Utar (is) its *hirakurra*’ (with suffixed Iranian possessive pronoun *-šē- < -šai-: cf. Tavernier 2007: 461 (4.4.21.1)). The obvious referent of this statement is the amount of wine to be issued: Utar is the *hirakurra* of the wine, i.e. its transporter. One could, as Koch presumably had in mind, take ‘its *hirakurra*’ to refer to the message or order (contained in the tablet), but this is less attractive as it assumes an implicit referent. In other uses of -šē, ‘its’, there is an explicit referent in the text: a commodity to which a tax or regular deduction applies (*abbakana-še*, perhaps **apakana-šē*, ‘its handling charge’ or ‘its handling loss’—Tavernier 2007: 503 (5.3.4.2)), the drafting of a document in response to an instruction thereto (*battimaš-še*, **patigāmašē*, ‘its message/instruction’—Tavernier 2007: 410 (4.4.3.13)), or the duplicate of a tablet mentioned in the text (*battiziknu-še*, **patičagniš-šē*, ‘its copy’—Tavernier 2007: 410 (4.4.3.12)).

The interpretation of *hirakurra* as ‘transporter, delivery-man’ fits well with all the contexts. It explains why there can be more than one *hirakurra* at the same domain (Babarna and Irtima at Kuknakka, Masdumaka and Umayā at Matannan, Ankama and Utar at Mirandu/Randu; cf. Henkelman 2010: 699 n. 113). Also, it finds a parallel in the frequently occurring Elamite term *ullira*, ‘delivery-man’, which likewise may occur with a possessive suffix, *ulliri-ri*, ‘his delivery-man’ or *ullira-e*, ‘his/its deliveryman’. By contrast, an interpretation of *hirakurra* as a director, manager, commissary, or the like runs counter to the content of the letter-orders, which are all addressed to individuals other than the *hirakurra*. Ušaya in the letter from Iršama, and Datukka/Dašakka and Šalamana in the letters from Irtašduna are clearly stewards of the addressor’s domain(s), as their wider profile in PFA indicates (see Henkelman 2010: 698–9 with n. 112 and above ad line 1). These people, if any, have the role of commissary or director, not the *hirakurra*, for which a provisional translation ‘delivery-man, transporter’ is henceforth assumed.

2. Fort. 0965-201 (Fig. 2.85, Pl. 9 (upper))

Location: on long-term loan in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Format: tongue-shaped letter-order (fragment)

Seal: PFS 2899* (seal of Aršāma) reverse and upper edge (left edge broken off)

Previously unpublished

Obverse

(01) [D^{IS}_x x (x)]-r_x tu₄-ru⁷-

(02) [iš^{HAL}ir²-šá²]-ṛma² na⁷[-an]

(03) [KI+MIN...]

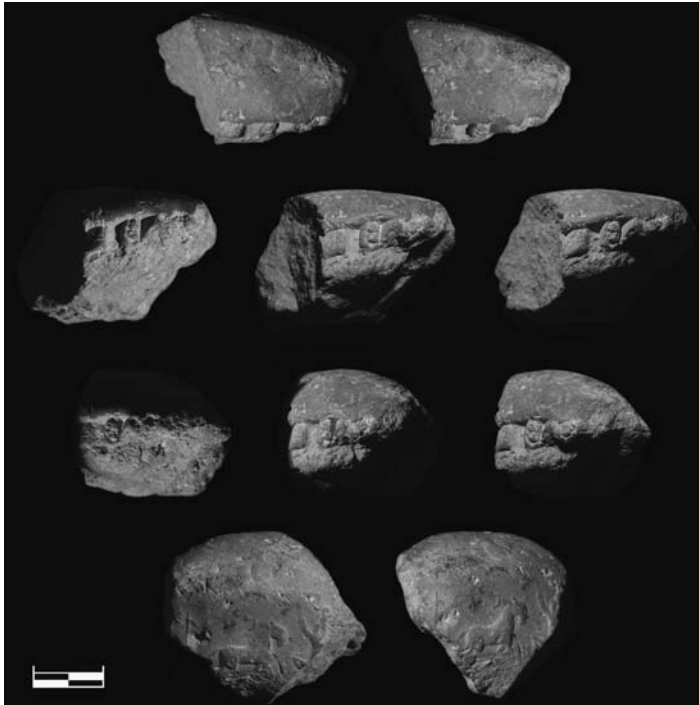
(remainder lost)

⁰¹⁻⁰² To [PN] spea[k, ⁰²⁻⁰³ Irša]ma² spe[aks² as follows ...]

01. ṛx⁷: probably not ṛia⁷ (i.e. Ušaya, as in NN 0958).

02. ṛma²: only slight traces of the upper part of the sign survive.

ṛna⁷: apparently preceded by space for half a sign (same in NN 0958:2)



2.85. Fort. 0965-201: upper edge (2×), obverse (6×), reverse (2×).

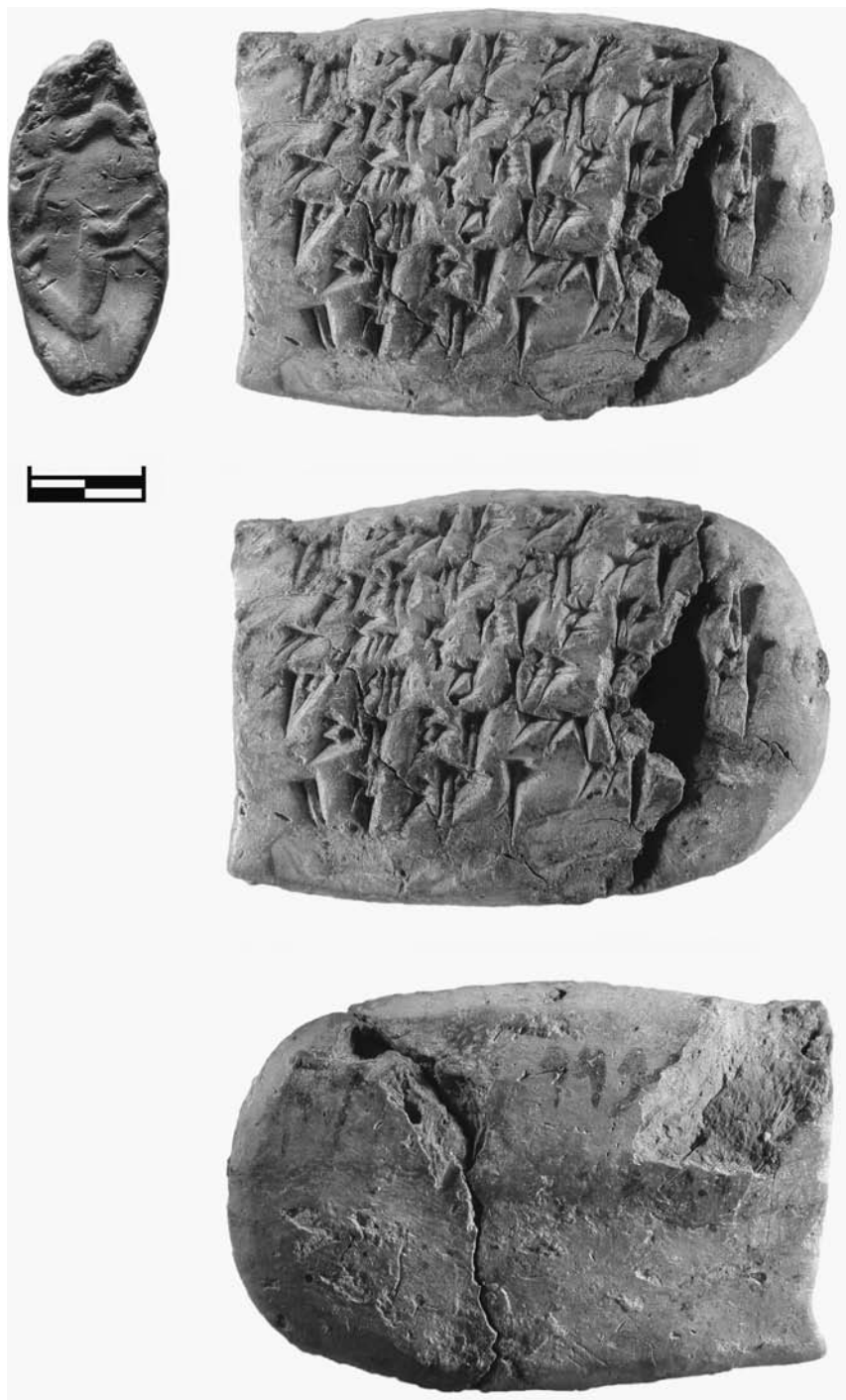
3. PF 0309 (Fig. 2.86)

Location: National Museum of Iran, Tehran, BK 4725

Format: tongue-shaped memorandum

Seal: PFS 0551 left edge; PFS 0044s obverse (twice)

Previous edition: Hallock 1969: 145



2.86. PF 0309: left edge, obverse (2×), reverse (turned 180°).

Obverse

(01) 90 ŠE.BAR^{MEŠ} *kur-mán* ^{HAL}(02) *kar-ki-iš-na*(03) ^{HAL}*ir-šá-ma še-ráš-Γda*^Γ(04) ^{SAL}*ú-pár-mi-Γia*^Γ *du-*(05) *iš-da* ^{AS}*be-Γul*^Γ(06) 24-*um-me-na*

(lower edge and reverse uninscribed)

⁰¹ 900 (l.) barley, ⁰¹⁻⁰² allocation from Karkiš, ⁰³ (as) Iršama had ordered, ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁵ the woman Uparmiya received. ⁰⁵⁻⁰⁶ 24th year (498/7).

Aramaic epigraph

There is one line of Aramaic, written in ink, on the reverse of the tablet. Further traces, below this line, are doubtful. The tablet could not be studied first-hand by Annalisa Azzoni, who kindly provided the following tentative reading and interpretation based on photographs available to the PFA project team:

(I) []^{Γh}^Γ*prw* ^Γ...^Γ*tpt*
Huparvi. ^ΓIr^Γ*tapata*.

01. 90: where the unit of measure is omitted, BAR (c.10 l.) is implied.

01f. Karkiš (*Karkiš, cf. Gk. *Γέργυς*; Tavernier 2007: 228 (4.2.954)): a name born by a series of individuals mentioned in PFA, including the satrap of Krmāna (Carmania) (Henkelman 2010) and the *kapnuškira* ‘treasurer’ and later *kurdabattiš*, ‘chief of workers’ of the administrative region or province centring in Persepolis (Henkelman n.d. 1). Establishing the administrative profile of the Karkiš in PF 0309 is complicated by the fact that the tablet’s left edge is sealed with PFS 0551, a seal that occurs only here. Identification is possible, however, by PFS 0044s (obverse), a seal used by an anonymous logistics (*šaramanna*) official who was active in the Hunar area. In addition, it may be logically assumed that the Karkiš of PF 0309 is the same as the one mentioned in PF 0734 (below), again in connection with Iršama (and his mother). There, the toponym Hunar recurs, allowing identification of the present Karkiš as a grain supplier active in that place and its vicinity, hence in the area of Rām Hormoz (cf. ad PF 0734: 12f.).

03. *še-ráš-Γda*^Γ: Hallock *še-ráš-da*. Continuing pre-Achaemenid usage (Hinz and Koch 1987 s.vv. *še-ra-h*, *še-ra-h-ni*, *še-ra-h-ši*, *še-ra-na*), the subject of the Achaemenid-Elamite verbal base *šera-*, ‘to command, to ordain’, is usually the king (cf. Stolper 2017a: 760–1). This is true for all attestations in the Persepolis Treasury (PT 04–PT 08) and for most of the occurrences in the royal inscriptions (DB_c III.45, DZc_c 6, DSab_c 2, XV_c 21, 23, A²Sa_c 4), with the exception of XPh, where the subject is Auramazdā (XPh_c 43–44).

In PFA, *šera-* is used with a wider, but still limited group of individuals. Besides the king, these are members of the royal family and a select number of the highest officials. The king is by far the most common subject (PF 1247, PF 1620, PF 1795, PF 1827, PF 1856, NN 0087, NN 0374 (restored), NN 0776, NN 2272:11–12, 20, 31–2, Fort. 3562, Fort. 6764, Fort. 0042-101:13', Fort. 0651-101:6, Fort. 1571-104:15–16, Fort. 1889-103; and with Darius' name: NN 1528, Fort. 1415-102:10–11). Other royals are Irdabama (PFa 27, NN 1946), Irtašduna (NN 1137), and Iršāma in the present text. Leading officials giving commands are Ašbazana (Fort. 1270-101+, Fort. 1348-103: general director/satrap), Irtuppiya (PF 1748: director of the West-Fahliyān administrative division), Parnakka (PFa 28, NN 0572, NN 1139, Fort. 6764: general director/satrap), and Ziššawīš (PF 1949:1–7, PF 1986:10, PF 1987:10–11, 12–13, 14–15, Fort. 2340-104: deputy to Parnakka). Some cases are less clear, mostly because the individuals concerned have indistinct profiles. An Umišduma twice orders bonus rations for mothers (PF 1230, PF 1231); he may be the same as the one that issues a sealed order (*halmi*: NN 2344:3–5). Uštana, if he is indeed subject of *šerašda* in PF 1860 (so Hallock 1969: 512), is identified as 'of the *abbamuš*-people', i.e. of the household of royal woman Irdabama; he is probably the same as the official issuing sealed orders in the district of Tirazziš (*halmi*: PF 1944:39–41, 42–4, 45–7, 48–51, 52–4, 55–7, NN 1430). Rašda could give orders presumably because he was acting as agent of Irdabama or the king (PF 1612; cf. Henkelman 2010: 693–4, 729, Garrison 2011a: 387). In a number of cases, the context or subject of *šera-* is broken or unclear, or the reading of the verb itself is uncertain (PF 0812, NN 0614, NN 1644, NN 2040:33, NN 2343, Fort. 1276-103:19', Fort. 1307-101:17, Fort. 1757-102:35, Fort. 2383-005:5').

It is possible, but cannot presently be proven, that the use of *šera-* reflects a formal conception of royal power, not only as it shaped the transmission and execution of direct orders but also as it was reflected on members of the royal house, yielded by their agents, and delegated to chief officers exercising executive authority. As a further conjecture, it may be surmised that the authority to issue sealed orders correlated with the power implied by *šera-*.

04. Uparmiya (**(H)uparviyā-*: Tavernier 2007: 209 (4.2.820)): the name occurs only here, but the involvement of Iršāma makes identification with Parmys (*Πάρμυς*), daughter of Bardiya/Smerdis (Hdt.3.88.3, cf. 7.78), plausible. The Aramaic epigraph offers a shortened form, *ḥ'prw*, 'Huparvi'. The loss of Old Iranian (*h*)*u-*, 'good', in Greek transcription, is also found in the case of Upanduš/**(H)ubanduš* (Tavernier 2007: 203 (4.2.769)), rendered *Φαίδυμῆ* / *Φαίδυμῆ* (the first, common form adapted by popular etymology to *φαίδιμος*: see Lewis 1984: 599, Brosius 1996: 145, Henkelman 2003: 147–8).

Herodotus mentions a son of Parmys and Darius, Ariomardus (7.78), as commander of the Moschi and Tibareni in Xerxes' army in 480. Garvie (2009:

60–1) argues against the assumption (see e.g. Balcer 1993: 108) that this man was the same as Ariomardus, governor of Thebes, who perished at Salamis according to Aeschylus (*Pers.* 38, 321, 967). The name, of uncertain etymology (Schmitt 1978: 52–3), occurs in PFA only as that of a scribe (NN 1507).

- I. The Aramaic epigraph appears to be an ungrammatical statement of two personal names, a common feature among the Aramaic texts in the Fortification archive. The second of these ends with the letters *tpt*; the slight traces of the preceding characters are inconclusive, allowing for a range of possibilities. Among these, the conjectured ʾIrʷtapata (*Rtapāta-; Tavernier 2007: 299 (4.2.1494)) has the advantage of having a parallel in Elamite Irdabad(d)a. A person of this name is active at Hutpirri in the western Fahliyān region (PF 0012, PF 1188, PF 1189, NN 0785, NN 1223), hence in the same general region where Karkiš was active (see comments ad 1f.). There are, however, also other individuals of the same name, including a lance-bearer (Henkelman 2017a: 72–3 with n. 43) and an official storing sesame for the king (PF 1992). Moreover, as said, ʾIrʷtapata, though attractive, is not the only possible restoration.

Though its reading remains uncertain, the presence of an Aramaic epigraph as such is significant. Only about 2.5% of the Elamite memoranda and letter-orders carry such additional texts (see discussion in Azzoni and Stolper 2015). Nine have been identified on receipts for commodities withdrawn for consumption at the court of the king or that of one of the royal women. Many more are on records of deposit, mostly of fruit, and other documents that can be related to, and sometimes explicitly mention, the king or the royal court. Exact figures cannot be given in the absence of a detailed study, but it would seem that at least a third of the epigraphs on memoranda and letter-orders answer to a royal profile.

Azzoni and Stolper previously studied the use of the epigraph *nsḥ/nsyḥ* (*nʷsḥ*), ‘copied’, on so-called journals (registers) and accounts. They tentatively concluded that the term refers to a process of control and drafting fair copies written in Aramaic on leather (Azzoni and Stolper 2015, esp. 41–3). Aramaic epigraphs on memoranda and letter-orders with court-related contexts likewise should be viewed primarily as ‘products of information handling’ (43), yet referring to another procedure. One obvious possibility would be auditing by officials belonging to the court-internal administration, which travelled with the king (and the royal women). In this view, the epigraphs under discussion would have been applied for sorting purposes, either by upper-level staff of the Persepolis administration or by visiting royal officials during periodic audits.

A text of considerable importance in view of the above is PFa 27, a letter-order by Irdabama, mother or wife of Darius I. In it, the royal woman addresses the accountants at her domain at Šullaggi, first reminding them

of a previous order to issue barley to one Pirmakša and then continuing as follows: ‘Also, he will send an Aramaic document pertaining’ to [GN] and draft an instruction. You (pl.), read/inspect (that) sealed document and draft the respective account!’ (Henkelman 2008a: 161–2 n. 355, Henkelman 2018c: 32–33). Though some details remain obscure, it is clear that Irdabama’s own administrative staff handled documents in Elamite and Aramaic and produced its own accounts. Something similar may well be true for other royals, including queen Irtašduna (see below, PF 0734 and PF 0733, both with epigraphs), Iršama/Aršāma 1, and Uparmiya.

4. PF 0734 (Fig. 2.87)

Location: National Museum of Iran, Tehran

Format: tongue-shaped memorandum

Seal: PFS 0038 (seal of Irtašduna) left edge, reverse, upper edge

Previous edition: Hallock 1969: 222

Obverse

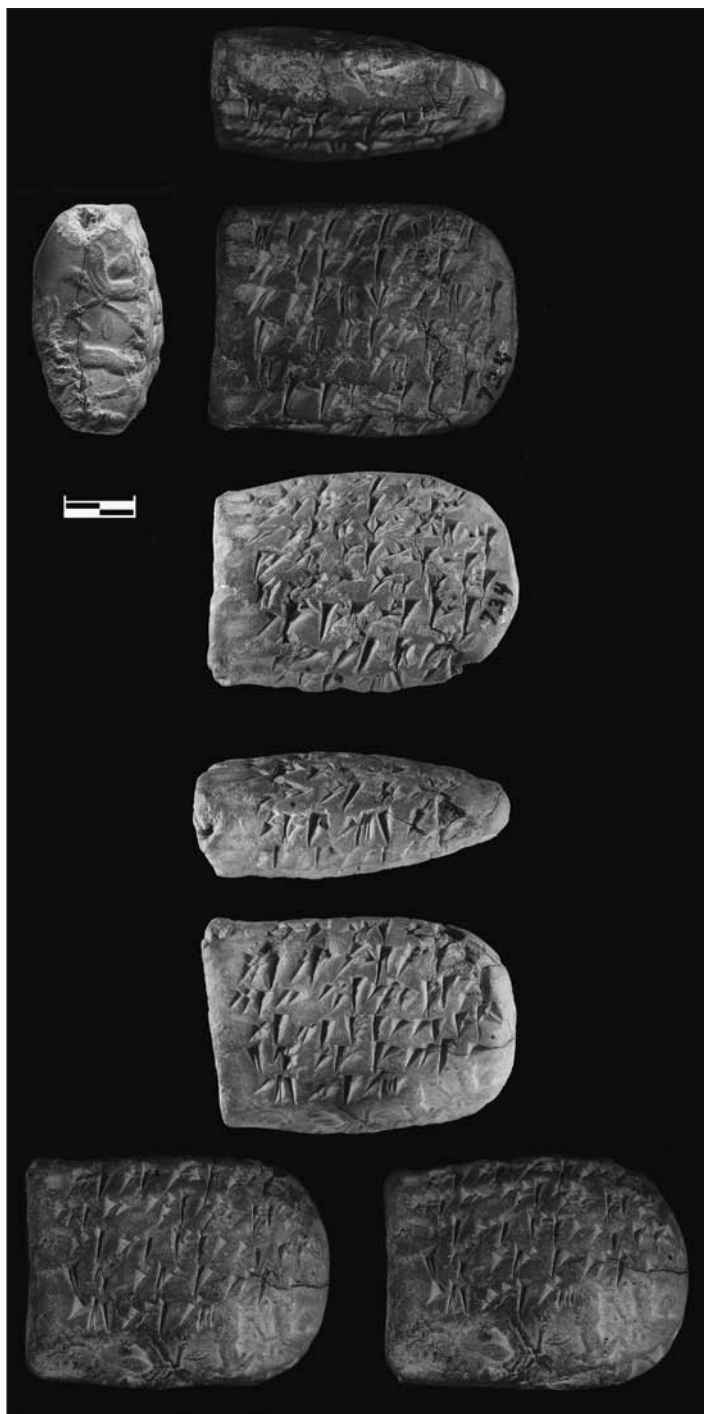
- (01) 2 1 QA *ab-be-KI+MIN*
- (02) ŠE.BAR^{MES}-*na kur-mán*
- (03) ^{HAL}*kar-ki-iš-na*
- (04) ^{SAL}*ir-taš-du-na*
- (05) *a-ak* ^{HAL}*ir-šá-ma*
- (06) *ti-ib-ba ma-*
- (07) *ak-ka₄ a-ak*

Lower edge

- (08) *te-ri-ka₄*

Reverse

- (09) *ap-pi-iš-da-^rman^ˉ-*
- (10) *na* ^{HAL}*na-pu-ma-li-*
- (11) *ka₄-na-ma* ^{AS}*be-ul*
- (12) *24-um-me-na* ^{AS}
- (13) *hu-na-ir*



2.87. PF 0734: upper edge, left edge, obverse (2×), lower edge, reverse (3×).

⁰¹⁻⁰² 21 l. cereal products, ⁰²⁻⁰³ allocation from Karkiš, ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁷ were consumed at the court of the woman Irtašduna and Iršama ⁰⁷⁻¹¹ and loaned[?] at the estate of Napumalika. ¹¹⁻¹² 24th year (498/97), ¹²⁻¹³ (this tablet was issued at) Hunar.

Aramaic epigraph

There are three (?) largely illegible lines of Aramaic, one on the upper edge and two on the reverse of the tablet. The last line on the reverse may contain *šnt* 20+3+1, 'year 24', but the traces are very faint and the reading should be regarded as conjectural (pers. comm. A. Azzoni)

- 01f. *abbe*-KI+MIN *šE.BAR-na*: this term, frequent in royal contexts, literally means 'food from grain'. It presumably denotes all prepared food made with (but not exclusively consisting of) grain, such as loaves, cakes, etc. The first part, *abbe*-KI+MIN, is to be read as *abbebe* (compare *ab-be-be* in PF 0318, *ḥa¹-be-be* in PFa 06, etc.). See Hinz and Koch 1987 s.v. *ab-be*.KI.MIN and Henkelman 2010: 734.
03. Karkiš: presumably the same individual as the Karkiš mentioned in PF 0309 (above). The occurrence of the toponym Hunar in lines 12f. (cf. below) allows identification with the grain supplier Karkiš, who was based at that town and used PFS 0150 as his personal or office seal. Together with this seal, his name is collocated with Hunar five times (PF 0479, NN 1467, NN 1964, NN 2127, NN 2589), with Uranduš once (NN 1257); in ten cases, no toponym is mentioned or preserved (PF 0274, PF 0275, PF 0276, PF 0366, PF 1166, NN 1591, NN 1877, NN 2125, NN 2235, Fort. 1203-102). With other seals, yet connected with Hunar, Karkiš occurs in PF 0010, PF 2026, and NN 2109 (PF 0998 and PF 0999 mention no place name, but may belong here too). All these texts, in as far as they are dated, are from Dar.23 or Dar.24. See further discussion in Henkelman 2005: 145-9 (also Koch 1990: 298). It is possible, but cannot be proved, that the same Karkiš was already stationed at Hunar or its vicinity in years 15-17 (PF 2082, NN 0574). Likewise, it is possible that the same individual was active in other places in the area around Hunar (Henkelman 2008a: 481-2 with. n. 1090).
04. Irtašduna (**Ṛtastūnā*:- Schmitt 2006: 224, Tavernier 2007: 301 (4.2.1503)): in other texts this person is sometimes given the title *dukšiš* (PF 1795, Fort. 6764). Initial interpretation of this term as 'daughter', led to the idea that there had been two women of the same name. The first of these would be the daughter of Cyrus, later married to Darius (Hdt.3.88.2, *Ἀρτυστώνη*); Herodotus presents her as the most loved of the king's wives, whose likeness in hammered gold (*ἐκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον*) he had made, and with whom he had two sons: Arsames and Gobryas (Hdt.7.69.2, 72.2). The Irtašduna mentioned in PFA was believed to be another child of the royal couple (Cameron 1942; followed by Olmstead 1948: 177 and still maintained in Balcer 1984: 154, 469) until Benveniste recognized that *dukšiš* (**duxčiš*) has

the wider meaning of ‘princess, royal woman’ (Benveniste 1966: 42–4, 48–50; cf. Tavernier 2007: 420 (4.4.7.34) with further references).

For the dossier on Irtašduna see §3.2 above as well as Hinz 1971: 288–90, Lewis 1985: 110, Koch 1990: index s.v. Ir-taš-du-na, Koch 1994: 134–6, Brosius 1996: 27–8, 50, 97, 125–7, Uchitel 1997: 138, Aperghis 2000: 137, Briant 2002: 132, 446, 463, 920, Henkelman 2000, Henkelman 2003: 133–6, Henkelman 2010: 667–9, 698–703, Henkelman 2011a: 580–1, Henkelman 2017a: 122–3, 134–5, 195–202, Henkelman 2017b: 281, Henkelman 2018c: 28–31, Henkelman and Kleber 2007: 167–9, Kuhrt 2007: 173, 595–6, 811, Stolper 2018b.

06. *tibba*: the literal meaning of the postposition is ‘before, in front of’ and, with a verb of movement, ‘forth, in advance’. In the syntagma *sunki tibba makka* (and *sunki tibba kitka*, for liquids), it acquires a developed sense, ‘consumed at the king’s court’ (and, with *kitka*, ‘poured at the king’s court’). Alternatively, one may translate ‘consumed at the King’s Table’, with reference to the ‘table’ or ‘dinner’ of the king as a social phenomenon, ruled by an internal administration and hierarchy of dedicated officials, and requiring an impressive daily logistic effort. This institution is recognizable in descriptions by Heraclides (689 F2, *apud* Athen. 145e–f), Polyaeus (4.3.32), and other Greek sources (Henkelman 2010: 682–92). In PFA, the use of *tibba* is restricted to the tables of Darius (Henkelman 2010: 676–82), the royal women Irdabama (693–7), Irtašduna/Artystone (698–703), the travelling satrap Karkiš/Gergis (704–713), and—a recent discovery—Udusa/Atossa (Stolper 2018b).
- 06f. *makka*: a contraction of **makik(a)*, a second conjugation form of *maki-*, ‘to eat, to consume’. See Henkelman 2010: 676 n. 23 for discussion.
08. *terika*: the tentative interpretation offered here follows the analysis proposed by Henkelman (2010: 699–700 with n. 120). It rests on comparison with *terma* in MDP 11 301, which presumably means ‘as loan’ (*vel sim.*), and with *terru* in *Stone Stela 1* from Haft Tappeh (see also Hinz and Koch 1987 s.vv. *te-ir-ma*, *te-ir-ru še-it-ru*). If the connection is valid, *terika* would be a 2.Conj. form of a verbal base *teri-* ‘to give as loan, to debit.’ Note that this form occurs only in receipts for commodities consumed at the table of Irtašduna, all drafted by her own scribes. Three cases involve commodities received at the estate of Napumalika (PF 0733, PF 0734, PF 2035), two others wine and fruit-and-barley products transported from Pārsa to Ecbatana and used there at Irtašduna’s court (PF 0732, NN 0454; see Henkelman 2017a: 198–202). It may be argued that all five documents refer to a particular protocol: the prospective balancing of accounts after commodities had been taken from a semi-private estate or had been transported from one administrative province to another.

It may be that Nakhthor’s travel authorization, issued by Aršāma 2 (TADAE A6.9), alludes to a similar principle when it stipulates that the necessary travel provisions are to be charged to his ‘house’. See discussion in Briant 2006:

349–51 and in Henkelman ii 218–23. Tuplin i 154–63 and Dalley 2014 prefer a model whereby Nakhthor actually receives provisions from estates privately owned by Aršāma in northern Mesopotamia and the Levant.

- 09f. *appišdamanna*: Elamograph of Old Iranian **abištāvana-* (Gershevitch 1969b: 166, Hinz 1975a: 18, Tavernier 2007: 445 (4.4.12.1)) and probably the term for a particular kind of estate. On analogy with *barrišdamal/*paristāva-* (lit. ‘about-stander’, hence ‘professional guide’) and its derivative *barrišdamana/*paristāvana-* (‘service of professional guides’), **abištāvana-* would be ‘(a place) belonging to a by-stander’, hence perhaps something approaching English ‘serjeanty’ (i.e. an estate belonging to a servant/adjunct). The word also occurs as a place name in Achaemenid Babylonia, Abas/štānu, where, probably not coincidentally, a princely estate was situated (Nippur region: see Zadok 1976: 65, Zadok 1978: 309–12, Dandamaev 1992: 85, Tavernier 2007: 372 (4.3.1)). Middle Iranian **wystm* (*awestām*, cf. MP *ōstān*) occurs, among other contexts, as a term for a Sasanian territorial division, plausibly of the same level as, but not equivalent to *šhr* (*šahr*), ‘(small) administrative province’. It may have had a royal connotation, but there is no primary evidence to support this (Gyselen 2002: 30, 89–91, 106–10, 117–19 and index s.v. *ōstāndār*). In Old Armenian, the word is loaned as *ostan*, which originally denoted land and places belonging to the crown (Hübschmann 1897: 215 (490)). This semantic aspect is tantalizing, but of uncertain relevance for the Achaemenid case.

Among the range of meanings of later cognates of **abištāvana-*, larger territorial units (‘region, province’) would be problematic in Achaemenid context. First, Babylonian Abas/štānu denotes a place, not a larger region. Secondly, Irtašduna and Iršāma drew commodities from the *appišdamanna* of Napumalika and issued receipts for these at Uttitibena, Hunar, and Menri. If *appišdamanna* here meant ‘district’ (*vel sim.*), one would suspect that the three places were part of it. But Uttitibena and Hunar at least were situated in the western Fahliyān sub-province, which was certainly directed by Irtuppiya (cf. ad PF 0734:12f., ad PF 0733:12f. and below); and there are no indications that Napumalika was a regional director (cf. ad 10f. below).

Apart from the three attestations of the *appišdamanna* of Napumalika (PF 0733, PF 0734, PF 2035: *ap-pi-iš-da-man-na*), the term occurs in association with two other individuals: Irtuppiya (NN 2157: [†]*ha-pi-iš-tam₅-na*; PF 1526: *ha-pi-iš-[†]da[†]-u-na*; PF 1527: ^{AS}*ha-pi-iš-da-u-na-[†]um[†]*) and Huštanna/Mištanna (Fort. 1709, NN 2556: ^{AS}*ha-pi-iš-da-u-na*; Fort. 0844-107: ^{AS}*ha-pi-[†]iš[†]-da-ma-[†]na[†]*).

The case of Irtuppiya is the most instructive. This person, director of the administrative sub-province of western Fahliyān (using seal PFS 0002), was holder of at least two estates (*irmadim*), at Parmadan (PF 0330) and Ankaš/tizza(n) (NN 1711), and perhaps of another at a third location (NN 0290). As a regional director, Irtuppiya was sometimes the destination of

travellers. The same travel party of Syrians, headed by Šamašba and travelling in XI/23 (Jan.–Mar. 498), is once said to be going ‘to Irtuppiya’ (NN 0622) and twice ‘to the *appišdamanna* of Irtuppiya’ (PF 1526, NN 2157). The *appišdamanna* of Irtuppiya is also the destination of a party of 1,150 workers (*kurtas*) under a certain Ulkiš (PF 1527, VI/27). Yet another group, of 469 workers, is going ‘to Irtuppiya’ (NN 1716, VI/22). From these attestations it would seem that the *appišdamanna* was the official seat of Irtuppiya, where travelling groups reported before being assigned to a specific task. According to this reading, *appišdamanna* would be a specific kind of estate, hence different from the regular estates (*irmadim*) that Irtuppiya also held.

There are a number of individuals named Uštana (*^(H)uštāna-) in the Fortification archive, but the spellings ^{HAL}hu-iš-tan-na and ^{HAL}mi-iš-tan-na are relative rare. Both clearly reflect the same personal name (*pace* Tavernier 2007: 211 (4.2.831), 354 (4.2.1931)), as they refer to the same person, identifiable by his profile and the region of his operations. The two spellings and a third, ^{HAL}ú-iš-tan-na, are all collocated with seal PFS 0054* (Huštanna: PF 1037; Mištanna: PF 1019, NN 0623; Uštanna: NN 1349, NN 1387). There is little doubt that all attestations of ‘Mištanna’ and ‘Huštanna’ refer to the same person; it appears that the majority of the attestations of ‘Uštanna’ refer to the same individual as well. This person was clearly different from e.g. the Uštana (^{HAL}ú-iš-da-na) of Tirazziš (Širāz).

The Uštanna/Huštanna/Mištanna under consideration was stationed in the administrative province known as the Fahliyān region, though not in the same subdivision as Irtuppiya. In fact, there is surprisingly little overlap between the geographical competences of the two officials (the only connection in their broad portfolios is Zakzaku). Uštanna/Huštanna/Mištanna is found, as a logistics official, in connection with the places Bessitme, Hišema, Ibat, Šurkutur, Tašpak, Zakzaku, Zappi, and Zila-Humban. Apart from a range of office seals (PFS 0015, PFS 0043*, PFS 0054*), his name is collocated with PFS 0045*, the inscription of which states his name and patronymic (^{DIS}ú-iš-^Γtan-na DUMU am-ma-mar-da). To add to this distinctive profile, an *irmadim*, ‘estate’, of Uštanna is the subject of a complicated letter (PF 2071: see Stolper 2017a: 750, 767–8). All this suggest an official with regional jurisdiction and evidently of high status.

Given the common team of suppliers mentioned in the texts on the *appišdamanna* of Mištanna (NN 2556, Fort. 0844-107) and Huštanna (Fort. 1709), there is no doubt that these attestations refer to one and the same location (on the suppliers Haturdada and Ummanana see Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 209–24, esp. 222–23). It is difficult to tell, however, if this *appišdamanna* was a special kind of estate. The fact that it was visited by registrars (NN 2556, Fort. 0844-107) in any case shows that it was tied into the institutional landscape, as estates in general were (compare esp. PF 1256).

See also Henkelman 2010: 699–700 with n. 118, Henkelman 2018c: 48–49, Tuplin i 158–62, 182.

- 10f. Napumalika: Elamograph of an Akkadian (or Aramaic) name, Nabû-mālik (Mayrhofer 1973: 211 (8.1236), 310, Delaunay 1976: 22, Tavernier 2002: 146). The Fortification archive contains five references to Napumalika (all with the same spelling): three times as holder of an estate (PF 0733, PF 0734, PF 2035), once as *šaramanna* official responsible for 137 *kurtas* (workers) at Gisat⁷ in Dar.24 (NN 1446), once in the same role, but responsible for *basbas* ('ducks') in Dar.13–14 (Fort. 1268-101). This profile is similar to that of other high-ranking administrators in the Persepolis economy, notably *šaramanna* officials, who probably held estates as remuneration for their services (Henkelman 2010: 699–700. n. 118, Henkelman 2017a: 165–7, Henkelman n.d. 1, Tuplin i 158). The principle is well known from other parts of the empire, notably Babylonia (Murašû and Kasr archives) and Egypt under Aršāma 2 (A6.13–14): for a recent survey see Henkelman 2018c.

A person of the same name, possibly the same individual, appears as 'Mede' (lú *Mādāya*) and 'chief accountant' (*rab n[ikkasē]*) in BM 79541, a Babylonian document from Sippar dated to the seventh year of Darius I (MacGinnis 2008; see also Jursa 2003: 172, Jursa 2010: 69, Tolini 2011: 1.399–402). This Nabû-mālik acts as a witness and signatory to the settlement of a dispute that had arisen between Persian holders of chariot fiefs and local temple communities in northern Babylonia. The settlement followed upon a decision by Darius as stipulated in a royal letter, which had been communicated by 'Baga'undu and [his] colleagues, the judges of the household of Undaparna⁷ to the parties involved. Nabû-mālik is one of two chief accountants listed among the witnesses, a highly unusual circumstance which may be explained, with MacGinnis, by reference to the direct involvement of the crown (2008: 94, 97). The same scholar tentatively suggests that Undaparna⁷ (Vindafarnā) may have been governor of Babylonia and Across-the-River at the time (91), but Tolini 2011: 1.400 is sceptical.

Chronologically, there is no objection to taking the Babylonian and Elamite references to Nabû-malik as pertaining to the same person: the chief accountant overseeing the crown's decisions and interest in Babylonia in Dar.7 may have had a subsequent, or simultaneous, appointment in Pārsa, where he is attested from Dar.13 through Dar.24. The estate held by Napumalika may have been a remuneration for his duties but perhaps also a reward for services rendered (cf. Henkelman 2018c: 50–51).

- 12f. Hunar (regularly ^{AS}ú-na-ir, ^{AS}hu-na-ir; ^{AS}ú-nuru in PF 0056): Achaemenid Elamite rendering of older Huhnur(i), an old Elamite town, already attested at the end of the third millennium. In the early sixth century the place was still under purview of the Neo-Elamite state (see e.g. MDP 9 42–3 in Scheil 1907: 44), but during the ensuing decades it came to be administered from Persepolis, as the Fortification archive shows (cf. Henkelman 2011a: 609, Henkelman 2017a: 97–8 n. 70).

In the Fortification archive, Hunar is hitherto attested in forty-four texts. A range of links to other places is described or implied, notably to Zakzaku, Dašer, Liduma, and Hidali in the westernmost part of the Fahliyān region of the Persepolis economy (NN 0574; also PF 2082, Fort. 1850-101) and to Parmadan in the eastern sector of that same region (PF 0011). Collation of the toponym with seal PFS 0002, used by Irtuppiya, confirms the location of Hunar in the western Fahliyān region commonly identified with the Zagros foothill area between Rām Hormoz and Behbahān (Hallock 1977: 131, Hallock 1985: 597–8, 600, Garrison and Root 2001: 66–7 (no.3)). This, in turn, agrees with Mofidi Nasrabadi's (2005) identification of Tappeh Bormī (Rām Hormoz region) as ancient Huhnur(i) on the basis of an inscription by Amar Su'ena that mentions the toponym and was, reportedly, found at Bormī. The identification has subsequently been contested on account of the uncertain provenance of the inscription (Alizadeh 2013, Alizadeh 2014: 238 n. 84). Although the long-time director of the excavations at Bormī stated that the object was indeed found at that site (L. Niakan, pers. comm. to Henkelman), only further archaeological evidence can definitively confirm this attribution.

Fortification archive contexts show that Achaemenid Hunar produced barley (286,850 l. in NN 2109), *tarmu* (emmer?: 54,050 l. in NN 1926), and sesame (PF 0480, PF 2082, NN 1467). Beer, made from *tarmu*, is also recorded (PF 0255). The production of sesame is particularly interesting, as the Zagros foothill area and especially Behbahān are still famous for the production of this crop.

A range of activities, mostly indirectly referred to, took place at Hunar. There was a *kapnuški*, 'craft centre' (lit. 'treasury'), where animal hides were prepared (NN 1680; cf. PF 0406) and perhaps other products were made. Among these may have been textiles, as a team of *pašap* women (textile workers?) was active at Hunar (PF 1790 (mentioning their leader)). Bird farming, involving ducks and other fowl, is known from a note on grain consumed as fodder (NN 0574:18–19). Construction of stone architecture or work on stone is implied in a reference to a group of 40 HĀR-mazzip, 'stonemasons', perhaps 'stone dressers', who returned to Persepolis from Hunar, where they had been sent by Parnakka (NN 1516: see Giovinazzo 2012, Henkelman 2017b: 277–8, 281). Furthermore, large groups of workers (*kurtaš*) performed unspecified tasks at Hunar: one group amounted to c.140 individuals (see e.g. PF 0924, NN 0646, NN 2524); another, perhaps an enlarged continuation of the first, to c.160 (see e.g. PF 0970, NN 1272, NN 1379). A certain Udaraš performed regular *lan* sacrifices at Hunar (NN 2589; PF 0366, PF 0374, and NN 1661 can also be connected to Hunar).

Apart from Irtašduna and Iršama, other royal and noble Persians had connections to Hunar. Darius had interests in the town, as shown by two account texts mentioning sesame and barley belonging to the king (PF 2082, NN 0574). A large quantity of *tarmu* (15,200 l.) was deposited on the

account of the lady Irdabama at Hunar, to be transported to (her estate?) at Šursunkiri (PF 2019); she occurs again, under her unique title *abbamuš*, in connection with Hunar (and *tarmu*) in Fort. 0172-103 (fragmentary). Karkiš the satrap (but the reading is uncertain) received travel rations at Hunar and two other sites (NN 2220: Henkelman 2010: 706) and Parnakka, the director of the Persepolis economy, halted at Hunar for two days during one of his regular inspection tours (NN 1912).

On Huhnur(i)/Hunar see Hinz 1975b, Duchêne 1986, Hinz and Koch 1987: 685–6 s.v. *hu-h-nú-ur*, Vallat 1993: 101–2, Henkelman 2007, Henkelman 2008a: 41, 119, Potts 2008: 293–4, Basello 2018 §4.2. On the site of Tappeh Bormī in the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods see Carter 1994: 68–9, 74, Wright and Carter 2003: 79, Alizadeh 2014: 230, 240–1, 285.

5. PF 0733 (Fig. 2.88)

Location: National Museum of Iran, Tehran

Format: tongue-shaped memorandum

Seal: PFS 0038 (seal of Irtašduna) left edge, reverse, upper edge

Previous edition: Hallock 1969: 222

Obverse

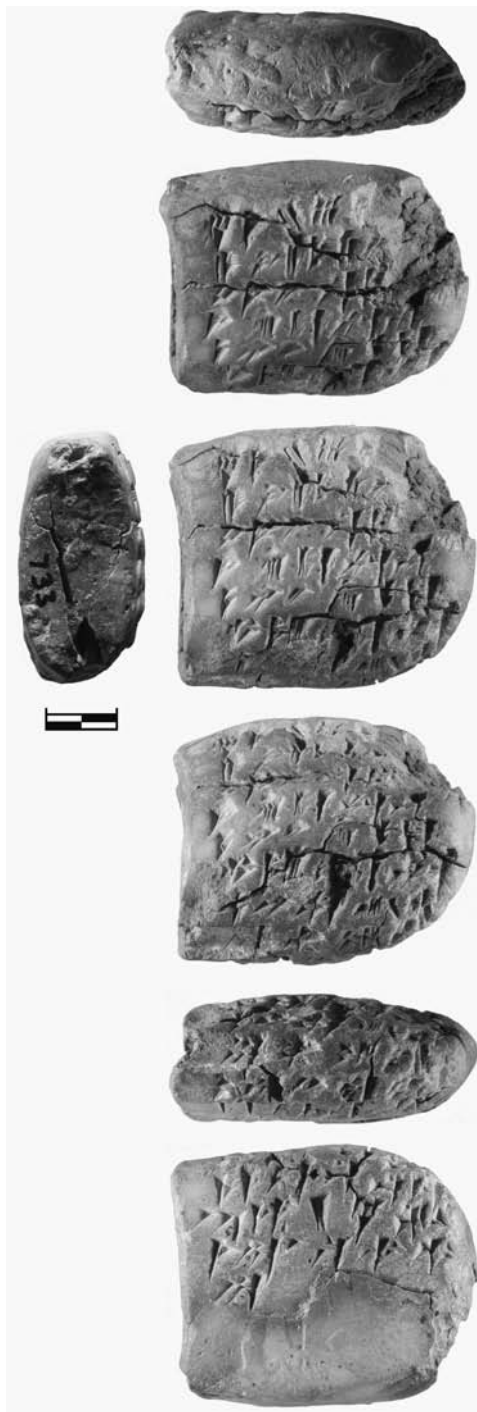
- (01) 4 ME 26 ^rGIŠ[∩][BAR[?]MEŠ[?]]
- (02) ZÍD.DA^{MEŠ} a-^rak[∩] [ŠE[?].BAR[?]MEŠ[?]]
- (03) *kur-mán* ^{HAL}ka₄-ma[-x]-^rna[∩]
- (04) ^{SAL}ir-taš-du-na
- (05) a-ak ^{HAL}ir-šá-ma
- (06) ti-ib-^rba ma[∩]-ak-ka₄
- (07) a-ak te-ri-ka₄

Lower edge

- (08) *ap-pi-iš-da-*
- (09) *man-^rna[∩] ^{HAL}na-pu-*

Reverse

- (10) *ma-li-ka₄-na-ma*
- (11) ^{AS}be-ul 24-um-
- (12) *me-na* ^{AS}ut-ti-ti-^rbe[∩]
- (13) *na*



2.88. PF 0733: upper edge, obverse, left edge, obverse (2×), lower edge, reverse.

- ⁰¹⁻⁰² 4,260 [l.[?]] flour and [barley[?]], ⁰³ allocation from Kama[...], ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁶ were consumed at the court of the woman Irtašduna and Iršama ⁰⁷⁻¹⁰ and loaned[?] at the estate of Napumalika. ¹¹⁻¹² 24th year (498/7), ¹²⁻¹³ (this tablet was issued at) Uttitibena.

Aramaic epigraph

There are illegible traces of an Aramaic epigraph on the tip and possibly on the left edge of the tablet (pers. comm. A. Azzoni)

02. [ŠE[?].BAR[?]MEŠ[?]]: there are only a handful of cases where flour and another commodity are issued at the same time. Hallock may have based his restoration on PF 0738, where barley and flour are issued for Irdabama's court. This remains the most likely option. Combined allocation of flour and *hamarram* or *mitli* also occurs (see e.g. PF 1098, PF 1232); both of these are kinds of grain.
03. ^{HAL}ka₄-ma[-x]-^Γna^Γ: a plausible restoration would be ^{HAL}ka₄-ma[-ka₄]-^Γna^Γ. A Kamaka (*Kāmaka-: Tavernier 2007: 224 (4.2.919)) is the receiving or issuing supplier in relation to the transport of barley in NN 1651, a tablet sealed with PFS 0038, the personal seal of Irtašduna.
- 12f. ^{AŠ}ut-ti-ti-^Γbe^Γ-na: Hallock omitted ^Γbe^Γ in his published edition, but added it, after collation, in his marginal notes. Uttitibena occurs only once more, in NN 1433 (sesame for sacrifices, Dar.24); this second context confirms, via the supplier Kabba, the location of Uttitibena in the western Fahliyān region (cf. PF 0664, Kabba at Dašer). The toponym is probably Elamite; although it can be parsed as [uttiti.p.na], 'of/for the Uttiti-people' (so Hinz and Koch 1987 s.v. *h.ut-ti-ti*, Henkelman 2008a: 559), the available contexts are not supportive of this analysis. Uttitibena is better to be understood as an elliptic name, '[place] of the Uttiti-people'.

6. PF 2035 (Fig. 2.89)

Location: National Museum of Iran, Tehran

Format: tongue-shaped memorandum

Seal: PFS 0038 (seal of Irtašduna) left edge, reverse, upper edge

Previous edition: Hallock 1969: 628–9.

Obverse

(01) 54 *mar-ri-iš* 3 QA

(02) KAŠ^{MEŠ} *kur-mán* ^{HAL}*pár-ru*^l-

- (03) *na-na*^{SAL}*ir-taš-*
 (04) *du-na a¹-ak*^{HAL}
 (05) *ir-šá-ma ti-ib-*
 (06) *ba ki-ut-ka₄ a-ak*

Lower edge

- (07) *te-ri-ka₄*
 (08) *ap-pi-iš-da-man-*

Reverse

- (09) *na*^{HAL}*na-pu-ma-*
 (10) *li-ka₄-na-ma*^{AS}
 (11) *ṛme^ṽ-en-ri*^{AS}*be-ul*
 (12) *24-um-me-ṛna^ṽ*

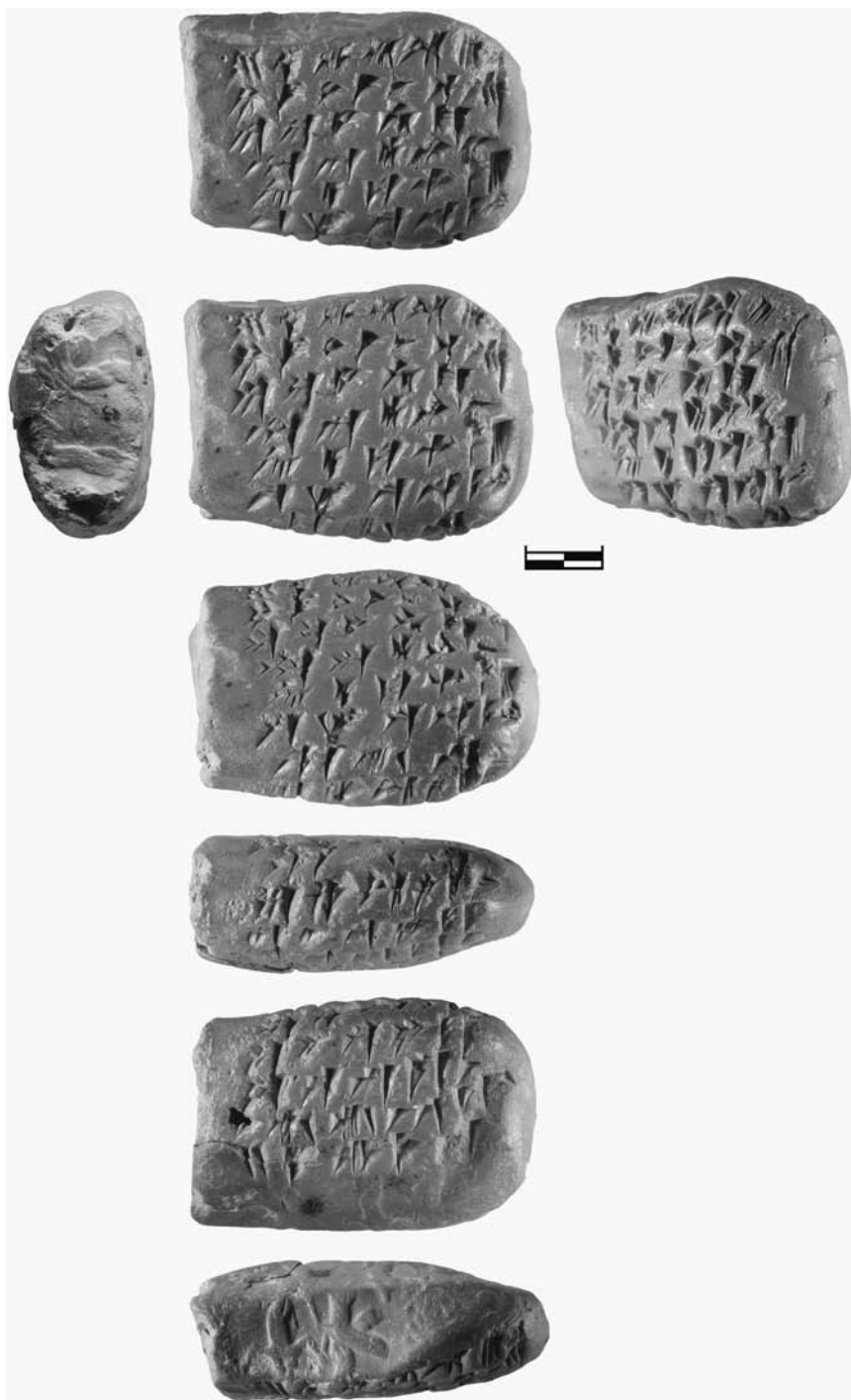
⁰¹⁻⁰² 543 l. beer, ⁰²⁻⁰³ allocation from Parruna, ⁰³⁻⁰⁶ were poured at the court of the woman Irtašduna and Iršama ⁰⁶⁻¹⁰ and loaned[?] at the estate of Napumalika. ¹⁰⁻¹¹ (this tablet was issued at) Menri. ¹¹⁻¹² 24th year (498/7).

01. 3: written over erasure.

02. *ru¹*: tail of last wedge continues into line 3.

02f. Parruna (*Parunā: Schmitt 1973: 20, Tavernier 2007: 266 (4.2.1237)): although this individual is not elsewhere attested issuing beer, he can plausibly be identified with the Parruna who transports flour to Kurdušum on four different occasions (PF 0083, PF 0084, NN 2152, Fort. 8626), usually from Liduma (not mentioned in Fort. 8626). Both places belong to the western part of the Fahliyān region, hence to the area where the estate of Napumalika was presumably situated (cf. above ad PF 0734:9f.). Another or the same Parruna receives barley at Šurti (Šurda; NN 1838) and issues sesame at an unknown location (NN 0232 [perhaps read ^{HAL}*pár-ru-na«-na»*]). See also Arfaee 2008a: 2.

10. Menri: the name, which appears only here, may be Elamite; the interpretation given by Hinz and Koch (1987 s.v. *h.me-en-ri*) ‘der Mangelleidende’ is characteristically speculative and rather unconvincing.



2.89. PF 2035: obverse, left edge, obverse (3×), lower edge, reverse, upper edge.

The Stamp Seal

Mark B. Garrison and Deniz Kaptan

As noted above, one letter-*bullā* (Sigill.Aram. IV (Figs. 1.19–1.23, Pl. 4)) has a single impression of a stamp seal, applied to the obverse (Fig. 1.19, Pl. 4 (above)). The seal is carefully placed in the middle of the obverse.

The stamp seal (Fig. 1.24) appears to have had a circular face, although the impression on Sigill.Aram. IV is elongated along its diagonal axis lower left to upper right.¹ There is no indication of a border around the seal design or a mount around the seal face. The seal face was markedly convex, measuring 2.30 cm at its greatest width and 2.15 cm at its greatest height.

Despite what appears to have been a carefully made impression, we are unable to make sense of the imagery. As noted above, we have oriented the imagery based upon the pattern of the application of the cylinder seal, where the vertical axis of the figural imagery on the obverse aligns with the string and/or string impressions running vertically on the reverse and (consequently) the horizontal axis of the imagery aligns with the impressions of the folded leather document running horizontally across the reverse.

The imagery in the impression is incompletely preserved. As we have oriented the design, in the lower left field a straight vertically grooved pole-like element emerges from a short horizontal base line. The top of the pole-like element is not preserved. At upper left of this pole-like element emerge, as preserved, two other thin pole-like extensions, both running to the left. The lower one runs horizontally; the end is not preserved. The upper runs diagonally upwards and extends to the edge of the seal. The centre of the design is in a very poor state of preservation. There is a small round element, but it is not clear whether it is figural or simply damage on the surface of the seal. The top centre of the

¹ During the sealing process the seal user, while pressing the seal, may have pushed the wet clay down with the other hand on the right edge of the letter-*bullae* where finger/cloth prints appear more defined.

impression appears to have been abraded; the surface is heavily damaged and none of the design is preserved. A small section of string running horizontally is embedded in the clay in this area (Fig. 1.19, Pl. 4 (above)). At upper right, three crossing lines form a triangle; all three have interior grooving. At lower right, three short thin pole-like extensions emerge from a large round element. The upper one extends upwards diagonally to right and terminates in a small round element. The middle one extends outwards horizontally to right and terminates in a small round element (only partially preserved and touching the edge of the seal). The lower one extends downwards diagonally to the right to the edge of the seal. Below, there is a long thin pole-like element that runs horizontally; neither end is preserved. Lastly, there are illegible traces in the field between the small round element in the centre of the design and the large round element at right.

As far as we can tell, we have to do only with abstract geometric elements.² Seals carrying simple or intricate geometric designs were common across the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, and Iran prior to and during the Achaemenid period.³ Seals also have long lives as heirloom artefacts, often re-cut.⁴ Thus, it is not impossible to imagine that the stamp seal applied to Sigill.Aram. IV may have been an older seal which was re-cut to receive a geometric design. The cylinder seal applied to the other letter-*bullae* in the Aršama dossier was itself

² The (apparently) fragmentary and abstract design on the stamp seal stands in stark contrast to the virtuosic carving on the seal of Aršama (Fig. 1.1).

³ The glyptic corpus from the Persepolis Fortification archive contains a wide assortment of geometric imagery (Root 2008: 91). Linear designs are also common on seals from other regions and periods. They may include, for example, pseudo-Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions (Herbordt 1992: 120–1, pl. 18.5–6, 9, 11–12, 15–19, 21–3; see also Teeter and Wilfong 2003: nos. 152–68, Petrie 1928: pl. 19.10). Compare also a stamp seal from Nineveh showing vertical and curved lines over an exergue border (Herbordt 1992: 211, Ninive 21, pl. 18.5). Stamp seals of the so-called Lyre Player Group from the last quarter of the eighth century BC are well known for their linear designs (Porada 1963: 351, 354, nos. 10, 23–4, Boardman 1990, Mirimanoff 2001; Dusing 2005: 43–5 on Gordium). This category has been defined as displaying fine lines often forming right angles, small drill holes, and simplified animal and human figures. A purely geometric pattern appears on a scaraboid in the Ashmolean Museum, which, as Herbordt comments, finds a very close parallel on a seal impression from the Neo-Assyrian archives of Nineveh (Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 48, no. 314, Herbordt 1992: 120, pl. 12.26, Mitchell and Searight 2008: 114, no. 276). They both show alternate hatchings and crosses in squares. It is generally observed that the small drill holes ('the pinpoint-like indentations') on seals attributed to the Lyre Player Group may overlap the border line or the edge of the seal, reminiscent of the overlap of small round elements on the stamp seal applied to Sigill.Aram. IV. In contrast with the convex face of the stamp seal used on Sigill.Aram. IV, however, the seal faces of stamp seals connected with the Lyre Player Group, and scarabs and scaraboids generally, produce flat impressed surfaces. There are conoids showing simple geometric designs dating to the seventh and sixth centuries, e.g. Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 64, nos. 442–4.

⁴ See Collon 1987: 120–2 and Smith 2018: 95–124 on aspects of the re-use and recutting of seals. Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 51, no. 342 is a good example of an old Neo-Hittite hammer-shaped stamp with a lion *passant* on the seal face, a version commonly observed during the Achaemenid period. See Root 2008: 94, 107 and Garrison & Henkelman ii 137–40 on heirloom seal use in Persepolis.

an heirloom from the late sixth century. Once again, however, the poor preservation of the design on the stamp seal makes it difficult to cite precise parallels that might validate such a suggestion.

The only significant reference to the stamp seal applied to Sigill.Aram. IV in previous literature is a brief comment of John Boardman (2000: 165), who noted that one of the Aršāma letters was 'sealed . . . with a traditional Babylonian stamp'. The common Babylonian stamps were octagonal pyramids and conoids. In our case, if we are dealing with a 'traditional Babylonian stamp', it would be a conoid, since, as already noted, the impression is circular and concave.

Indeed, we have attempted on numerous occasions, unsuccessfully, to read the preserved design as some very poorly preserved and/or reworked version of a late Babylonian worship scene, a scene type that occurs commonly in the Achaemenid period in Iran and Babylonia and sporadically in many sites around the empire.⁵ The designs generally are executed in one of two styles, a modelled one and an abstract one. The latter, commonly referred to as the 'cut-and-drilled style', is generally characterized by straight wheel-cutting, filing, and intensive drill-work that created unmasked hemispherical modulations and deeply grooved lines.⁶ It is clear from the rich archaeological record that the seals were cut in varying levels of abstraction;⁷ nevertheless, despite the reductive manner of the engraving style, the worship scene and its elements, such as the worshipper and symbols of the cult (stars, lamp, crescents, spade of Marduk, stylus of Nabû, and so on), are usually legible on the seal face.

There also exist examples of seal designs that appear to be 'excerpts' of various elements often found in the Late Babylonian worship scene. Some of the seal impressions on Persepolis Fortification tablets showing linear patterns have been described as 'looking rather like a highly abstract rendering of Babylonian cult symbols'.⁸ The verticals dominating the seal face on two well-preserved chalcedony conoids excavated at Tall al-Mazar and Tall as Sa'idiya in Jordan, both dated to the Achaemenid period, were interpreted by Eggler and Keel as scenes of worship before the 'cult symbols of Marduk and Nabu'.⁹ Many seals from the 'Perlendept' in Babylon (now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin) also provide abstract versions of such scenes.¹⁰

⁵ See e.g. Zettler 1979, Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 56, 60–4, Root 1998, Ehrenberg 1999, Balzer 2007 (for an extensive catalogue), Garrison 2017c: 79–85, fig. 2.30, Garrison n.d. 1, and Kaptan ii 192 n. 54.

⁶ Sax 1995: 29–35, Sax, McNabb, and Meeks 1998: 14–16, Sax 2005: 145, pls. on laboratory analyses of the lapidary techniques of filing and wheel-cutting. For the terminology of this class of seals see: Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 60, Root 2003: 259.

⁷ Persepolis Fortification archive: Garrison 2000: 140–3, Garrison 2017c: 79–85, fig. 2.30, Garrison n.d. 1. Eanna archive: Ehrenberg 1999, 2001. Murašu archive: Bregstein 1996: 614. See, in general: Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 60–4, Jakob-Rost 1997: 64–104, Nunn 1999: 147–53. For a commentary on the seals from excavated sites in Turkey, see Kaptan n.d. 2.

⁸ Root 2008: 93.

⁹ Eggler and Keel 2006: 298, no. 5, 376, no. 20.

¹⁰ Jakob-Rost 1997: nos. 282, 286, 318–321. See also Kaptan ii 192 for the Late Babylonian worship scene in Anatolia.

If the scene on the stamp seal was in fact a Late Babylonian worship scene executed in a very abstract style, the device at left could potentially be remnants of a stylized tree or cult paraphernalia such as a stand, the spade of Marduk and/or the stylus of Nabû. The device with small round elements at right could potentially be remnants of a star or a fish. In the end, however, none of these suggestions come across as convincing with the design as preserved.

Another question is whether the imagery as preserved is re-cut, damaged, or purposefully opaque. Edith Porada, while studying seals from Tarsus-Gözlükule, observed that some designs on the Egyptianizing seals could not be 'meaningfully combined, indicating that they were cut by a man who was unfamiliar with their [the signs'] significance'.¹¹ In another article published a few years later, she explored inconsistencies in the designs of certain other seals of various origins from the ancient Near East and concluded that there were anomalies because the seals were cut by non-professionals who were probably priestly scribes (Porada 1977: 11). Given the difficulties of reading the design as a whole, and its rather schematic appearance, could we conjecture that the stamp seal used on Sigill.Aram IV was a non-professionally made one? In an analysis of the administrative and social functions of seals and sealing practice, Margaret Root explored the issue of 'non-professionally made' seals in the section devoted to a group that displayed summary workmanship and geometric imagery outside the mainstream repertoire of Persepolitan seals.¹² Discussing the possibilities of adapting Porada's hypothesis about 'non-professionally-made' seals, she noted the 'danger' of making assumptions on the basis of the schematic nature of an impressed image. This warning is relevant to the stamp seal applied to Sigill.Aram. IV as well: what is visible on the seal impression does not enable us to make a sufficiently accurate assessment of the artistic quality of the original representation or the overall quality of the seal itself to classify its maker as non-professional.

Photographs of the Bodleian documents taken with raking light reveal depressions that seem to have been caused by the letter-*bullae*. John Ma, Christopher Tuplin, and Lindsay Allen experimented with the position of the letter-*bullae* on the documents and suggested that Sigill.Aram. IV most probably belonged on Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15), as there is a suitable blank depression on the right side of the document.¹³ A distinctive feature of this letter is that it was written on two pieces of leather stitched together: the stitching is neat, but this is not the finest piece of writing material. As a whole, then, Pell.Aram. XIV is a humbler product than the others in the Bodleian collection. Moreover, even though the clay of Sigill.Aram. IV

¹¹ Porada 1963: 353. ¹² Root 2008: 92–3.

¹³ We are grateful to John Ma and Christopher Tuplin for their generosity in sharing the photographs and their observations. For the possible association of Sigill.Aram. IV with A6.15 see Tuplin iii 24 n. 74, Garrison & Kaptan ii 5 n. 13, 24 n. 27.

appears to be finely levigated, its straw-like string is quite crude in quality compared to the fine strings in the letter-*bullae* associated with Aršāma's cylinder seal. Pell.Aram. XIV (A6.15) is the letter from Virafša to Nakhṭhor, ordering the latter to hand over five Cilicians and return some misappropriated goods. It was written in Babylon.

If the pairing of Sigill.Aram. IV with Pell.Aram. XIV is correct, Virafša would presumably emerge as the individual linked with the stamp seal applied on Sigill.Aram. IV. Knowing that the letter was composed in Babylon, we may easily be tempted to consider that Virafša acquired his seal there also. As noted above, we are not able to assess the quality of the seal based on its single impression. We may, however, contemplate the possibility that Virafša had to acquire a seal in haste, just as he used a stitched-up leather to compose the letter.

Available documentation about seal use in the empire is rich and complex. Selection of imagery did not follow any very rigid guidelines, and, as far as we are able to discern, ethnicity did not generally dictate the choice of artistic styles or iconographic content.¹⁴ There was, in short, a flexibility in the artistic environment that was in harmony with the ethnic diversity of the empire. It is thus possible for Virafša to have acquired the seal anywhere during his travels, and Babylon may be the place of origin. In the end, of course, this suggestion, simple as it may sound, is speculative.

In conclusion, all the possibilities noted above remain hypothetical and open to future study.

¹⁴ Root 2003: 274, Root 2008: 92, Bregstein 1996: 60, Kaptan 2020: 319–20. Cf. the discussion below, Kaptan ii 182, concerning Zātavahyā, an individual with an Iranian name linked with a seal design that was artistically at home in western Anatolia.

Anatolian Connections

Deniz Kaptan

This essay addresses aspects of sphragistic evidence from Anatolia contemporary with the Aršāma letters and *bullae* in the Bodleian Library.¹ By drawing on the *bullae* associated with the Bodleian Aršāma letters one may pose many questions. Do the sealings from two different parts of the empire, Egypt and Anatolia, complement each other in the administrative and communication network of the empire? What common aspects of imagery and sealing practices do the Bodleian Aršāma seal impressions and their Anatolian counterparts share, and is there a significant difference between them? Based on the Aršāma documents, what hypotheses or inferences can be drawn about the communication, administrative, and economic activities at a satrapal level in Anatolia, where no documentation on papyrus has survived? The focal point of the discussion regarding the Anatolian glyptic evidence is provided by the *bullae* from Dascylium. A second site, Seyitömer Höyük, also contributes to the Anatolian sphragistics, albeit with a much smaller group of material.

DURABLE CLAY VERSUS FRAGILE PAPYRUS AND LEATHER: DOCUMENTATION IN ANATOLIA

The Bodleian Aršāma letters have long been recognized as a significant source for Achaemenid studies. The exact disposition of the leather documents and the associated *bullae* when they were purchased by the Bodleian is unclear, but

¹ I would like to thank John Ma, Christopher Tuplin, and the Bodleian Library for providing the opportunity to study the *bullae* of the Aršāma letters. I am also grateful to Christopher Tuplin in his editorial capacity. My work on the seals of Achaemenid-period Anatolia has been generously supported by the Iran Heritage Foundation and the Soudavar Memorial Foundation.

the detached *bullae*, the papyri, and the leather bags altogether form an impressive group.² The fragile leather document should in principle be paired with its clay sealing, but in practice they are rarely recovered together, and hardly ever in excavated contexts.³ Excavations often yield the durable component, the clay sealings, which can survive catastrophes and long periods of time, whereas the fragile and highly perishable leather and papyri easily vanish. Exceptions are from regions like Egypt where the dry climatic conditions contribute greatly to their survival. Outside of Egypt only a few other locations are known so far that yielded or were associated with Achaemenid-period finds of perishable papyri and leather documents together with *bullae*: a cave at Wadi Daliyeh (Samaria), which yielded sealed documents from a private archive dated to the reigns of Artaxerxes II and Darius III (between 375 and 334), and Bactria, the presumed origin of an administrative archive in the Khalili Collection.⁴

On the western and northern side of the Aegean, there are only two isolated discoveries of papyri from the pre-Hellenistic period.⁵ One is the carbonized remains of a philosophical text, dating from the second half of the fourth century, found near Derveni (Thessaloniki). The second, and also literary, is from a small tomb in Athens, Daphni Tomb 2, dated to 430/420, and therefore broadly contemporary with the Aršāma documents. Along with wooden writing tablets and musical instruments, the Daphni papyrus partially survived thanks to the undisturbed condition of the burial. Even though the Derveni and Daphni papyri are significant finds, they belong to a different category from the Aršāma material, being isolated literary texts.

On the Anatolian side of the Aegean, no piece of written document on leather or papyrus has so far survived. But the *bullae* excavated in Dascylium, the

² Garrison & Kaptan ii 1–45. Borchardt's (1933) account of the acquisition is ambiguous, and leaves many questions about the provenance of the material unanswered.

³ Among Aramaic documents the Hermopolis papyri (TADAE A2.1–7), discovered tied and sealed during controlled excavations (Bresciani & Kamil 1966: 362–3, Porten 1968: 264–5), are an exception. None of the papyri associated with Aršāma from the Elephantine excavations was found with a sealing, though some other items from those excavations were (e.g. B3.1, <http://elephantine.smb.museum/record/ID100734/>). Porten 2011: 1–10 provides a brief account of the discovery of Aramaic and other documents from Elephantine: many Aramaic ones are in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (Sachau 1911, <http://elephantine.smb.museum>), and in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The Elephantine papyri in Brooklyn were acquired rolled and sealed (Kraeling 1953: 123–5, pl. XXI), but do not come from controlled excavations. The sealings initially published in Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright 1910: 42, pl. 37, nos. 41, 43 (= UCL Petrie Museum 13098, Yoyotte 1972: 217, no. 3) and 44 were found associated with papyri. The date of no. 41 (with an engraved reference to the Dynasty IV King Khnum-Khuf) is unclear, but nos. 43–4 are of sixth-century date and were attached to P.Zauzich 4 (Ashmol.1984–87) and 6 (Ashmol.1984–89), Demotic documents from the reign of Petubastis IV, the independent pharaoh who emerged during the chaotic period following the death of Cambyses: see Yoyotte 1972, Kaper 2015. (The two documents are re-edited in Vittmann 2015.)

⁴ Wadi Daliyeh: Cross 1985, Gropp 1986 and 2001, Leith 1997. Documents from Bactria: Shaked 2004, Naveh and Shaked 2012.

⁵ Pöhlmann and West 2012, West 2013.

satrapal centre of Hellespontine Phrygia, attest to their rich now-lost presence, and so constitute a significant source for the western sector of the empire.⁶

Lightweight papyri and leather documents, which were easily portable and hence practical for communication and record-keeping, became particularly popular from the Neo-Assyrian period onwards.⁷ Yet, ironically, their widespread use during the first millennium led to the loss of archival evidence in the archaeological record in places like Anatolia, where a back-up system on clay no longer existed. By contrast with Mesopotamia and Iran, where records were kept on papyri and clay concurrently, the use of cuneiform tablets was long forgotten in Anatolia. As a result the history of the region largely relies on the information provided by the written documentation and archives from elsewhere, notably the tablets from Persepolis, Babylonia (Murašû, Sippar, Borsippa, and Uruk texts), and the Middle Euphrates basin, and the surviving Aramaic documents from Egypt, the Levant, and Bactria.⁸ This is not to say that there is no written documentation from Anatolia.⁹ Copies of letters and decrees were publicly displayed in the form of stone inscriptions, some multilingual, an example being the trilingual stele from Xanthos in Lycia.¹⁰ Its two sides in the local languages, Lycian and Greek, refer to setting up a new cult, and the third side, in Aramaic, reports the satrap's endorsement of the establishment of the local cult. Dating to 337, the Xanthos trilingual inscription implies the presence of a satrapal archive. There are also Roman-period copies, such as the inscription from Sardis about a statue being dedicated in a sanctuary of Zeus by the Persian official Droaphernes.¹¹ These texts might have had

⁶ Dascylium has been excavated from the mid-twentieth century to the present day (Akurgal 1956, Bakır 2007). The excavation team reports destruction debris from the third quarter of the sixth century that most likely corresponds to the arrival of the Achaemenid army. The Achaemenid-period settlement had a series of terrace walls that also functioned as fortification. In 2004 the operations from the 1950s were explored again; the remaining stone foundation of a rectangular structure, 'the archive room' where the *bullae* had been excavated, was restored (Erdoğan 2007: 181–4, İren 2010).

⁷ Radner 2014, Jursa 2014, Invernizzi 2003, Millard 2003. The language was mostly Aramaic.

⁸ e.g. Persepolis (Henkelman 2008a), Babylonia (Stolper 1985, Donbaz and Stolper 1997, Stolper 2001b, Stolper 2003, Waerzeggers 2006, Waerzeggers 2010), Samaria (Cross 1985, Gropp 1986 and 2001, Leith 1997: 5–6). Fragmentary cuneiform tablets dating from the second half of the fifth century were excavated at Mezraa Teleilat, a settlement mound in the Euphrates basin in south-eastern Turkey. Donbaz 2002 briefly comments that the fragments, which might belong to an archive, refer to 'volumes' of some goods, as well as to 'grinding', 'witnesses', and 'Bil-uballit' (𐎠𐎼𐎶𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵), a name that appears in the Murašû texts. Preliminary reports note the presence of a palatial structure with storage units active during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods (Şenyurt 2006: 183). See also above nn. 3–4.

⁹ Inscriptions on sculpted stelae and rock-cut tombs, for example those from the Hellespontine Phrygia, Lycia and Cappadocia, are beyond the scope of this discussion.

¹⁰ Xanthos Trilingual: Metzger 1979, Teixidor 1978, Briant 1998a, Briant 2002: 707–8, Marek 2013: 236–242.

¹¹ Droaphernes: Robert 1975, Briant 1998b, Briant 2002: 677–8. The time gap between the original and the Roman copy poses a problem. The Gadatas Inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander referring to a letter from Darius I about a grant of tax exemptions for the temple of

copies on perishable materials in now-lost local archives. Similarly, the *bullae* from Dascylium provide another clue for the presence of local archives in Anatolia.

TWO ANATOLIAN SITES: DASCYLIUM/ERGILI AND SEYITÖMER HÖYÜK

In Graeco-Roman sources, Dascylium is the centre of an Achaemenid satrapy governed by the same family, the Pharnacids, for over a century from the reign of Xerxes (486–465) to the 340s.¹² The settlement mound captures a stunning view of Lake Dascylitis, its wetland and bird sanctuary, and the rich farming land, which must have accommodated farmsteads and estates of the elite associated with the empire.¹³ The port city of Cyzicus, an old Milesian colony, is about thirty kilometres to the north. It is certainly well located, especially in relation to the communication network and trade routes over the Troad and Propontis, which connected the coastline with inland Anatolia and the centre of the empire. This is the first Anatolian site that produced an important body of sphragistic evidence for the Achaemenid empire. As noted below, a high percentage of the *bullae* were originally attached to papyri and leather documents. They were exposed to a catastrophic fire during the first half of the fourth century.¹⁴

The second site where sphragistic evidence has surfaced is Seyitömer Höyük, a strongly fortified settlement near Cotyaeum (modern Kütahya) in Phrygia Epictetus.¹⁵ This is a small group, consisting of only seven sealings excavated intermittently between the years 1989 and 2010. Three of the sealings come from securely dated fifth-century deposits. The settlement mound stands on the intersection of an east–west–south artery, which most probably originated from an ancient trade route in western and central Asia Minor.¹⁶ Despite the neighbouring rugged terrain of Mysia to the west, Seyitömer Höyük was

Apollo is another Roman-period work, and its authenticity is a matter of debate (ML 12: Briant 2003, Tuplin 2009).

¹² Kaptan 2002: 1.7–8, Appendix 3, Georges 1994: 242–3.

¹³ The Granicus River Valley Project documented numerous Achaemenid-period sites between the rivers Granicus and Aesepus, and revealed the settlement pattern and land use around Dascylium (Rose *et al.* 2007).

¹⁴ Kaptan 2002: 1.9–10, Bakır 2007: 171, Kaptan 2013.

¹⁵ Kaptan 2010, Kaptan & Coşkun n.d.

¹⁶ The settlement history dates back to the Early Bronze Age. A strongly fortified settlement, Seyitömer Höyük yielded finds that show its trade connections to central Anatolia and the Aegean. For analysis of ceramic production and trade see Cercone and Donner n.d. For a summary of excavation reports see Bilgen, Brixhe, and Coşkun 2011: 141–2 and Coşkun 2015: 19–34. Inscriptions in Phrygian: Bilgen, Brixhe & Coşkun 2011.

probably accessible to and from Dascylium through river valleys and passes. Gordium and Synnada (modern Şuhut) are on the eastern and southern extensions of this artery, connecting Seyitömer Höyük to Sardis and Cilicia. This convenient location suggests that the settlement functioned as a crossroads of the Achaemenid road network, traditionally known as the Royal Road.¹⁷

By contrast with the Dascylium sealings, those from Seyitömer Höyük were not directly attached to papyri or leather documents.¹⁸ Thus they differ in function from those from Dascylium and the Bodleian Aršāma material. The *bullā* in the shape of a clay strip, which carries on both sides the rollings of a cylinder seal showing a warfare scene (SHS 3), resembles an uninscribed tablet.¹⁹ Its use, so far, remains obscure. In the archaeological record there are various types of sealed clay strips, often referred to as *Tonstreifen*.²⁰ A possibility is that the Seyitömer Höyük artefact might have functioned as an authorization and identification device, e.g. as a verification tool in the administrative chain of regional commodity supply or as a specific official credential in some other context.²¹ A significant element of the puzzle about its function may involve its imagery: the warfare scene. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that two out of three clay strips (*Tonstreifen*) of a similar kind from Nimrud and Nineveh represent warfare scenes.²² Since the passport-like document in the Bodleian possibly carried the seal of Aršāma, which also showed a scene of warfare, the connection between this type of image and the function of the artefact is an intriguing subject for future research.

WHAT WERE THE CONTENTS OF THE NOW-LOST DOCUMENTS OF DASCYLIUM?

In the early stages of research, after noting the presence of royal-name seals on the *bullae*, K. Balkan had suggested that the archive might have contained royal

¹⁷ On the 'royal road' e.g. French 1998, Aperghis 1999, Potts 2008, Briant 2012, Henkelman ii 193–253, Almagor iii 147–85, Kaptan and Coşkun n.d.

¹⁸ Kaptan 2010: 363–4.

¹⁹ This artefact is typologically reminiscent of the Akkadian-period *bullā*-labels as it carries the impressions of the same cylinder on both sides (Rakic 2014: 195, Rakic 2018: 90–1). For the typology of Persepolis uninscribed tablets Root 1996a: 11–15, Garrison 2008.

²⁰ Their function is debated: Collon 1987: 119, Herbordt 1992: 54, 68, fig. 6.

²¹ It is tempting to follow Kroll and Mitchel's model in the interpretation of a group of 'tokens/symbola' from the Athenian Agora (1980: 94–6). Adapting the phrase 'σύμβολον πρὸς δεῖνα/credential of so-and-so' to the stamped inscriptions on the clay tokens, Kroll suggests that each token functioned as a credential for a particular commander.

²² Herbordt 1992: 68. It is also interesting to note that the sealing type, *bullā* label, an innovation of the Akkadian period, was predominantly impressed with cylinders showing the same type of imagery: inscribed two-pair-contest scenes (Rakic 2018: 91).

correspondence, specifically letters from Xerxes to the satraps of Dascylium during the military campaign in Greece.²³ Even though, hypothetically speaking, such a presumption might sound attractive, and testimonies of ancient literary sources about the empire's efficient communication network and the kings' visits to satrapal palaces might be seen as validation points, there is no supporting evidence for royal letters in the archaeological record. So far not a single royal letter has surfaced from the Achaemenid period.²⁴ The present evidence leads us in a more cautious direction. We could presume that archival activity in the satrapal centre at Dascylium was associated with economic and administrative communication and transactions along the same lines as those attested by two archives in the centre of the empire;²⁵ and most probably some of the documents in the archive of the satrapal house of the Pharnacids were similar in content to the Aršāma letters in the Bodleian and to some of the papyri from Elephantine (Kaptan 2002: 1.16–27). In particular, two of the Elephantine documents excavated by Otto Rubensohn and Friedrich Zucker in the early twentieth century are illustrative of satrapal and royal operations in the provinces: one is Aršāma's boat repair authorization, now in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (A6.2: written on 12 January 411), and the other, a palimpsest, is a customs account surviving on fifteen fragments, split between the Cairo Egyptian Museum and the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin (C3.7, Yardeni 1994). Overall, the contribution of Egyptian documents of this sort is significant for Anatolia, because they reveal aspects of both regional administration and the social fabric, providing a glimpse of the duties of officials of various ranks and of the activities of other individuals in the empire: they present, in short, a convincing model for the contents of some of the perished documents of the satrapal centre at Dascylium. Moreover, we should emphasize the presence of royal-name seals in the Dascylium archive. Their emulation of Achaemenid iconography demonstrates a very close link with the imperial administration in the centre of the empire.

²³ Balkan 1959: 123 n. 4, 126–7.

²⁴ Kaptan 2002: 1.21–2, Kuhrt 2014: 121–2. The exception is the rare discovery of the copies of royal inscriptions that have been interpreted by some scholars as epistolary: versions of the Bisotūn inscription were found on an inscription from Babylon (Seidl 1999a, 1999b), and in Aramaic on a papyrus from Elephantine (TADAE C2.1). See also the debate on a dubious royal letter, the Gadatas Inscription from the second century AD in Greek: see n. 11 above. (In this context 'royal letter' means a letter from the king. There are, of course, letters from Achaemenid queens in the Persepolis Fortification archive.) On the travelling royal court see Briant 1988b, Tuplin 1998, Henkelman 2010.

²⁵ On aspects of the archives from the Persepolis Fortification and Persepolis Treasury e.g.: Garrison and Root 2001: 23–35, Garrison 2017a: 517–40, Briant, Henkelman, and Stolper 2008, Root 1996a, Root 2008, Henkelman 2008a. See also Garrison 2014a for the royal-name seals of Darius on Persepolis tablets.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DASCYLIUM *BULLAE*

The Dascylium *bullae* are accidentally baked lumps of clay, the majority of which were originally attached to papyri and leather documents when the clay was soft and wet.²⁶ What surfaced in Dascylium clearly betrays the presence of the disintegrated components of the documents, the papyri and strings, which left their imprint on the reverse of the *bullae* during the sealing process. As the fire destroyed all the associated perishable material, it simultaneously contributed to the preservation of the sealings by baking them. Of the catalogued *bullae* and fragments 339 (85% of the set) have papyrus fibre impressions on the reverse, whereas on fifty fragments (13%) the reverse is smooth, implying that they were attached to leather like that used for the Bodleian Aršāma documents. (See Chart 4.1.) The archive might have contained other perishable devices for communication and recording transactions like wooden tallies that are part of the Khalili Collection.²⁷ Wooden writing boards may have also been present in Dascylium, especially when their use by the travelling royal court is taken into consideration.²⁸

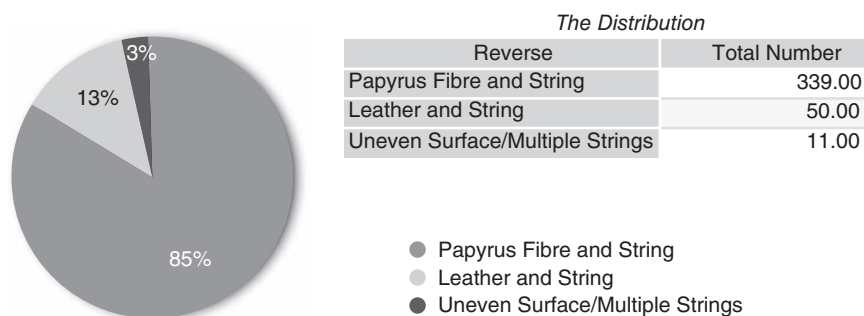


Chart 4.1. Distribution of impressions on the reverse of the *bullae* from Dascylium

The reverse of each *bullae* associated with written documents is relatively flat and shows the impressions of papyrus fibre and string cavities, while the obverse (the sealed side) is convex.²⁹ The string cavities run longitudinally along the middle of the *bullae* in most instances, but where the string emerges at each edge the clay was liable to be pushed inwards-and-backwards.

²⁶ Only eleven out of 401 catalogued *bullae* and fragments do not indicate clearly the kind of material they were attached to (Kaptan 2002: 1.14). Leather items: see Tuplin iii 25 n. 80.

²⁷ Tallies: Naveh and Shaked 2012: 230–4, Henkelman and Folmer 2016. Ehrenberg 1999: 33 on the use of wooden writing boards in Uruk. Writing tablets in Athens, Daphni Tomb: above, p. 173.

²⁸ Briant 2014 for a recent discussion on travelling archives and use of wooden writing boards during the seasonal migration of the Achaemenid royal court.

²⁹ Kaptan 2002: 1.13, Fig. 1. This shape was described by E. Schmidt (1957: 4) as plano-convex for the 'labels' from Persepolis Treasury.

Table 4.1. Dimensions of cuneiform inscribed cylinders (Royal Name Seals) from Dascylium

Cuneiform Inscribed Cylinder	Preserved Seal Height	Approximate Diameter (reconstructed)
DS 2	3.0 cm	1.60 cm
DS 3	2.3 cm	1.49 cm
DS 4	3.2 cm	1.60 cm

Table 4.2a. Dimensions of Aramaic inscribed seals from Dascylium: Aramaic inscribed cylinders

Aramaic Inscribed Cylinder	Preserved Seal Height	Approximate Seal Diameter (reconstructed)
DS 18	2.50 cm	0.91 cm
DS 19	1.20 cm	1.25 cm
DS 23	1.50 cm	0.60 cm
DS 24	1.65 cm	0.54 cm
DS 61	1.90 cm	0.70 cm
DS 65	1.30 cm	0.50 cm
DS 108	1.50 cm	0.50 cm

Table 4.2b. Dimensions of Aramaic inscribed seals from Dascylium: Aramaic inscribed stamps

Aramaic Inscribed Stamp	Preserved Seal Face Height
DS 16	1.60 cm
DS 76	2.00 cm
DS 100	2.60 cm
DS 112	1.20 cm
DS 135	1.80 cm

Most *bullae* are broadly oval in shape with tapering thin edges, though the oval can be truncated due to the pressure applied on the edges over the strings,³⁰ and some are rounder in shape.³¹ This is particularly true of *bullae* with the impressions of the royal-name seal DS 4: they are large and round with tapering thin edges.³² A number of *bullae* carry multiple seal impressions,³³ but they do

³⁰ Kaptan 2002: 2.154 (pl. 4: DS 1), 201 (pl. 224: DS 72), 207 (pl. 259: DS 86.2), 211 (pl. 283: DS 95.1).

³¹ Kaptan 2002: vol. 2, pls. 239 (DS 79.1), 344 (DS 122).

³² Kaptan 2002: vol. 2, pls. 48–53, 57.

³³ Out of 401 catalogued *bullae* and fragments ten bear multiple seal impressions. There are two seal impressions on Erg. 287 (DS 7 and DS 92), Erg. 259 (DS 19 and DS 70), Erg. 383 (DS 85.3

not have a uniform shape: for example, Erg. 379 with four seal impressions is an amorphous clump,³⁴ Erg. 372 (three impressions) a truncated oval,³⁵ and Erg. 259 (two impressions) rectangular with rounded edges.³⁶ This last item provides the best parallel at Dascylium for the rectangular shape of the Bodleian *bullae* impressed with the seal of Aršāma (Sigill.Aram.I–III,V–VIII)—a shape that is otherwise not at all common at Dascylium or Seyitömer Höyük.

The average height of the Dascylium *bullae* is about 2 cm, but those carrying the impressions of large size cylinders are relatively larger (Tables 4.1, 4.2a, and 4.2b). Such large seals, especially DS 2 and DS 4 (up to 3 cm in height and 1.60 cm in diameter), were never completely reproduced on the surviving *bullae* and fragments: DS 4.3 (as preserved) is 4.5 × 3.95 cm, making it by far the largest of the Dascylium *bullae*, and even it could not accommodate a complete roll of the cylinder. The smallest *bulla* is 1.19 cm by 1.50 cm, carrying the impression of a small stamp, 0.81 cm by 1.10 cm.³⁷

Overall we may note that, for the most part, the size of the wet clay lumps seems to have followed the size of the seals even though for very large cylinders a clay *bulla* did not provide the most convenient space for a complete roll.

INSCRIPTIONS

The earliest datable seal use on Dascylium *bullae* comes from the reign of Xerxes, in the shape of two cuneiform-inscribed royal-name seals (DS 2 and DS 3), bearing the king's name (Balkan 1959; Schmitt 2002). The multiple impressions of DS 3, accounting for up to 36% of the entire corpus, may indicate prolonged use of the seal, because post-regnal use was a widely known practice in the empire. Considering the chronological boundaries set by the royal-name seals at one end and the fourth-century black-gloss Attic pottery associated with the find-spot of the *bullae* at the other, the timespan of the Dascylium sealings appears to be roughly a century, from about the 480s to the second quarter of the fourth century. During that century, which takes us from the reign of Xerxes (486–465) to that of Artaxerxes II (405–359), Greek literary sources indicate that the satrapal office was held by Artabazus, Pharnaces, and Pharnabazus. This period overlaps with the years during which Aršāma was in charge of Egypt in the second half of the fifth century (Tuplin iii 8–11, 39).

and an illegible seal), Erg. 440 (DS 86.1 and DS 85.4), Erg. 334 (DS 181 and an illegible seal); three seal impressions on Erg. 272 (DS 48, DS 49, and an illegible seal), Erg. 425 (DS 125 and two illegible seals); four seal impressions of Erg. 379 (DS 54, DS 145, and two illegible seals); and more than two on the fragments, Erg. 374 (DS 69 and an illegible seal) and Erg. 436 (DS 126 and DS 127).

³⁴ Kaptan 2002: 2.83, 138, pls. 175, 392.

³⁵ Kaptan 2002: 2.80, pl. 163.

³⁶ Kaptan 2002: 1.15, Fig. 2a, Kaptan 2002: 2.179, pls. 99, 220. All of these items have impressions of papyrus fibre on the reverse.

³⁷ Kaptan 2002: 2.127, pl. 334.

The Dascylium corpus contains three cylinders inscribed in cuneiform, twelve seals in Aramaic, and one stamp in Greek. Their use and style distribution on the *bullae* is shown in Chart 4.2.

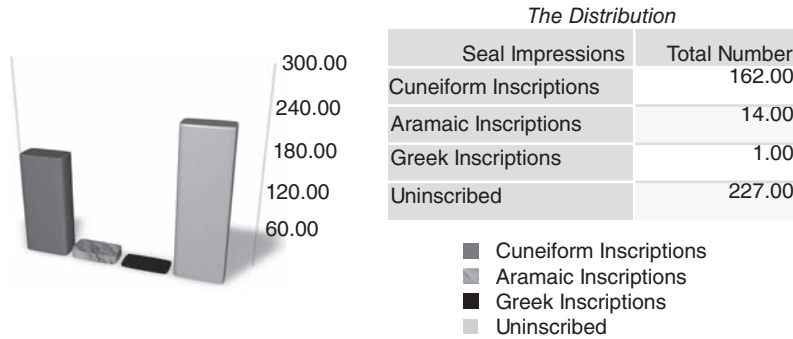


Chart 4.2 Distribution of inscribed and uninscribed seal impressions from Dascylium

The royal-name seals are the largest. As we have seen, large seals did not produce complete rollings on the surviving *bullae* and fragments (above p. 180 and Table 4.1). The lack of space on the clay lumps for such large cylinders seems not to have been regarded as an inconvenience. The repeated impressions of DS 3 consistently show that during the sealing process the focus was on centering the seal image, not on the framed inscription. On all the preserved fragments the hero and the monster are at the centre of the *bullae*, whereas the inscription fades away (often incomplete) on the edges or does not appear at all. The hero and the rampant monster conveyed the visual message whereas the inscription was secondary.

The seals inscribed in Aramaic, on the other hand, are different. The cylinders, except DS 18, are relatively small (Table 4.2a and b). The inscriptions were not arranged in a systematic way, but were inscribed unframed in the available empty field, and they are often interspersed among figures (Fig. 4.3).

Röllig notes that the legible Aramaic inscriptions were personal names of Iranian, Babylonian, and in a few cases possibly Semitic origin.³⁸ In none of them does a title or patronymic appear, but three include the Semitic preposition *l* (DS 18, DS 19, DS 65, Fig. 4.3).

In the context of the Aršāma documents it is worth noting that one of the names of Iranian origin, inscribed on DS 112 (Fig. 4.1), also appears in a Bodleian letter. The stamp-seal image shows a heron-like bird about to take flight and a small hippocamp lying on its back just above the bird's head.³⁹ In the Dascylium seal corpus, this image belongs to a group representing wildlife

³⁸ Röllig 2002: 209, Kaptan 2016: 356–8.

³⁹ Kaptan 2002: 1.158–9, Kaptan 2002: 2.123–6, pls. 318–30, Kaptan 2013: 33.

in landscape settings, artistically in harmony with west Anatolian works.⁴⁰ The inscription runs along the edge, in the only area left free from the seal design, and reads *Zātavahya*.⁴¹ The same name appears among the Aršāma documents in Nakhtōr's travel authorization (A6.9), where one of the officials is 'Zātavahyā [who is in] Arzuhin.' I am not suggesting any connection between these two individuals other than the Iranian origin of their names and their association with the Achaemenid administration (there is certainly no reason to identify them one with another), but the occurrence of the same name is a curious coincidence.

IMAGERY: WARFARE

The theme of warfare represented on one of the two seal types in the Bodleian Aršāma collection finds its Anatolian counterparts on a number of seal impressions from Dascylium, as well as on one of the seals from Seyitömer Höyük (SHS 3). These are richly detailed representations, despite their small size, and, in some cases, their fragmentary state of preservation. They share the same theme, but the engraving style of the Aršāma cylinder is different from those of the Anatolian counterparts. The discussion here will focus on their thematic association with the Aršāma seal and does not aim to present an exhaustive iconographic analysis.⁴²

Two major types of compositions emerge: the victor is either on foot or on horseback. Enemies are also shown as equestrians. On several seals a dead body is represented on the ground (DS 63, DS 65, DS 72: Figs. 4.1–4.2, Fig. 4.8). Often the figures associated with, respectively, Achaemenid hegemony and the foe are clearly defined by dress code: on SHS 3 (Fig. 4.4), for example, the spear-wielder on the left is clad in the Persian court robe; his enemy is an archer in tight fitting trousers, whereas in a similar composition on DS 63 (Fig. 4.2) the protagonist on the left is the archer who wears a crown and the Persian court robe as his opponent is a spear wielder in trousers and tunic. But on others it is the design that marks the superiority of the protagonist—at least to the modern eye. For example, DS 64 (Fig. 4.5) and DS 160 (Fig. 4.6) are worth viewing together. In both images the enemies are shown sprawling, making it clear that they have lost the battle. DS 64 (Fig. 4.5) shows two warriors, the one on the left in a helmet and carrying a beautifully rendered large shield, which probably had a blazon engraved on it, and the other on the right wearing a short-sleeved

⁴⁰ e.g. Root 1991, 1994, 1997, 2003b, Garrison 2000, Dusinberre 1997, Gates 2002, Kaptan 2013 (on the fluidity of artistic environment).

⁴¹ Röllig 2002: 207, Lemaire 2001: 34, no. 4.

⁴² e.g. Ma 2008, Wu Xin 2010, Tuplin 2020, Garrison & Henkelman ii 83–129. On the Dascylium and Seyitömer Höyük images: Kaptan 2002: 1.87–92, Kaptan and Coşkun n.d.

4.1. DS 112 on Erg. 260 (Kaptan 2002: 2.124, pls. 322–3). Photo: D. Kaptan.



4.2. DS 63.1 on Erg. 324 (Kaptan 2002: 2.87, pls. 192–3). Photo: D. Kaptan.



4.3. DS 65 on Erg. 261 (Kaptan 2002: 2.88, pls. 197–8). Photo: D. Kaptan.





4.4. SHS 3.1 and 3.2 on Kt 9401 (Kaptan 2010: 364, figs. 33.4–5). Photo: D. Kaptan.

corslet (Snodgrass 1967: 90–1)—probably one with metal scales attached to a leather underlay—and a helmet with a long tassel. This warrior on the right acts as the victor: he wields his spear and, in a gesture reminiscent of the royal hero in combat, grasps his enemy, who seems to have already fallen to his knees. A winged disk hovers above. The other seal, DS 160 (Fig. 4.6), which follows Greek artistic norms, shows two warriors in identical crested helmets, carrying two large shields. The one on the left, completely naked, is shown sprawling as the warrior on the right, semi-nude in an elegant chlamys, thrusts his spear

4.5. DS 64 on Erg. 331 (Kaptan 2002: 2.87, pls. 195–6). Photo: D. Kaptan.



into his body. This seal impression, showing ‘Greek fighting Greek’ on the surface, attains a deeper meaning when its function and provenance, the Achaemenid administrative centre in Dascylium, is taken into account. (I have discussed this in further detail elsewhere: Kaptan 2013: 35.)

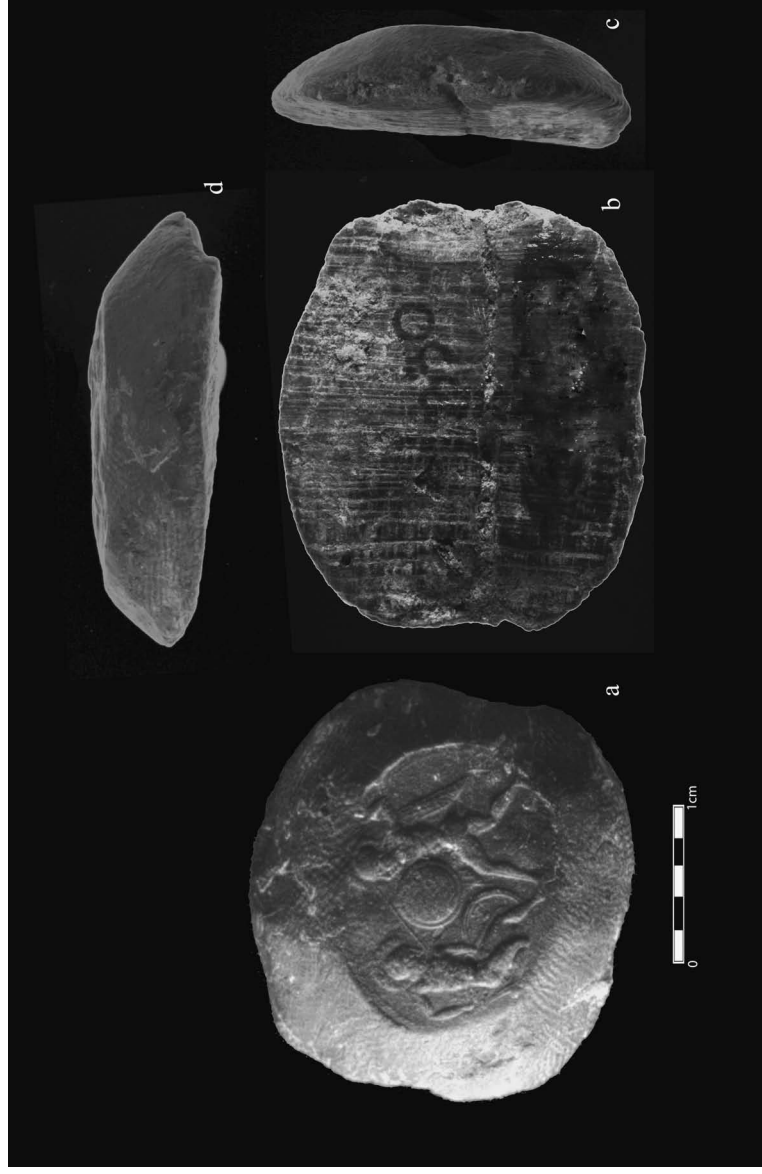
On the seals from Anatolia, archers in riding habit are often represented as the foe, as is also the case on the Aršāma seal. They are shown both on foot (as on SHS 3: see below) and on horseback. A good instance is on a masterfully carved seal showing two horsemen fleeing at full gallop (DS 91: Fig. 4.7). They are chased by another horseman, no doubt on the Persian side, even though only the head of his horse and long spear are preserved on the seal impression. As on DS 64 (Fig. 4.5), a winged disk hovers above. The fleeing horsemen wear soft floppy headgear and trousers.⁴³ They are archers as indicated by the bow case over the saddle of the horse in the foreground and the bow held vertically in the hand of the rider behind.⁴⁴

In the Dascylium seal corpus, warfare and hunting constitute the second largest group, with a total of sixty-four *bullae* and fragments. As discussed elsewhere, the composition of hunting and warfare on Dascylium sealings often follows a similar compositional pattern, with a wild animal substituted for the human enemy.⁴⁵ For example, the body of a defeated figure represented under the galloping horse of the victorious warrior (DS 65, DS 72: Fig. 4.3, Fig. 4.8) substitutes the fleeing wild animals shown in the field below the

⁴³ This is a typical tight-fitting horse-riding habit that had been represented in Anatolian art at least since the Phrygians. In the literature it is traditionally associated with nomads and Scythians. On clothing: Miller 2013.

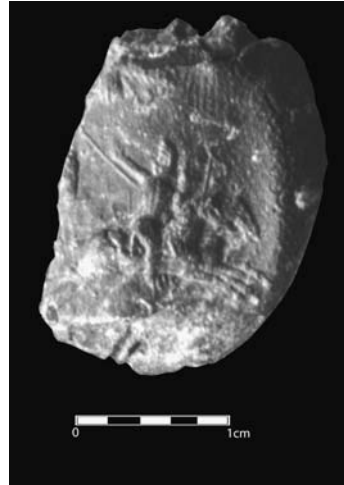
⁴⁴ Wrongly described as a spear in Kaptan 2002: 1.152.

⁴⁵ Kaptan 2002: 1:74–99, Kaptan 2002: vol. 2, pls. 197–8, 223–48.

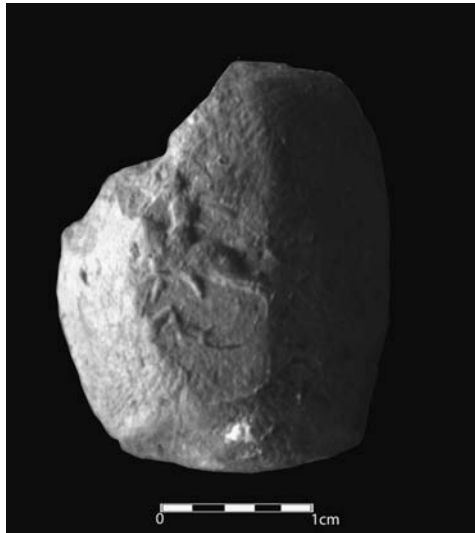


4.6. DS 160 on Erg. 330 (Kaptan 2002: 2.143, pls. 421–2): (a) obverse, (b) reverse, (c) right edge, (d) upper edge. Photo: D. Kaptan.

4.7. DS 91 on Erg. 373 (Kaptan 2002: 2.111, pls. 272–3). Photo: D. Kaptan.



4.8. DS 72 on Erg. 278 (Kaptan 2002: 2.97, pls. 223–4). Photo: D. Kaptan.



horseman (DS 79, DS 90: Figs. 4.9–4.10).⁴⁶ In some instances, warriors and hunters on horseback wield their spears while wild animals such as boars and

⁴⁶ Kaptan 2002: 2.88–97, 101–2, 110. The image of a dead body lying under the horse or the chariot of a victorious warrior has an old history in ancient Near Eastern iconography (Kaptan 2002: 1.77, nos. 299–302).

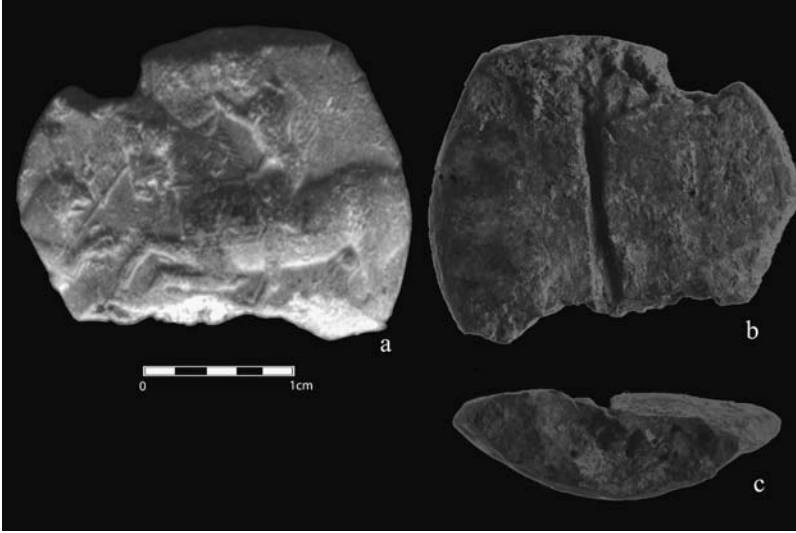


4.9. DS 79.1 on Erg. 276 (Kaptan 2002: 2.101, pls. 238–9). Photo: D. Kaptan.



4.10. DS 90 on Erg. 292 (Kaptan 2002: 2.110, pls. 270–1). Photo: D. Kaptan.

bears attempt to charge the hunter (DS 78, DS 89–90, DS 94–5: Figs. 4.10–4.12), and in a similar composition the combatant on foot carrying a big shield stands before the powerful horseman (DS 86: Fig. 4.13).



4.11. DS 89.1 on Erg. 325 (Kaptan 2002: 2.102–9, pls. 265–6): (a) obverse, (b) reverse, (c) bottom edge. Photo: D. Kaptan.



4.12. DS 95.1 on Erg. 283 (Kaptan 2002: 2.113, pls. 282–3): (a) obverse, (b) reverse, (c) bottom edge. Photo: D. Kaptan.



4.13. DS 86.2 on Erg. 326 (Kaptan 2002: 2.106–7, pls. 257, 259). Photo: D. Kaptan.

The image of spear-wielder on foot finds one of its most impressive reflections in a three-figure composition on the Seyitömer cylinder, SHS 3 (Fig. 4.4).⁴⁷ Facing right, bearded with a moustache, a rounded coiffure on the forehead and nape, and clad in court robe, he is a majestic figure. Two figures are represented before him: an archer on the far right and a warrior on his knees in between. Raising his hands in reverence, wearing a crested helmet of Ionian type but otherwise unarmed (his small shield rests in the background), this figure in the middle of the scene is passive and apparently powerless—and yet is being protected, as the gesture of the spear-wielder's left hand may suggest. The active opponent of the spear-wielder is the archer, who aims his arrow across the submissive warrior on his knees.

Margaret Root observes (pers. comm.) a striking similarity between the composition on SHS 3 (Fig. 4.4) and a number of Persepolis Fortification seals (e.g. PFS 0035*, PFS 0060, PFS 0240) showing variations on a three-figure seal design in which an archer aims his bow at an animal/lion aggressor attacking a vulnerable animal in the middle.⁴⁸ Impressively, following a similar compositional pattern, the spear-wielding protagonist on SHS 3 stands face-to-face with humans, encounters the foe, and acts as the protector and victor in the face of aggression and violence, represented actively by the archer on the right. This composition type also appears on other Achaemenid seals, for example, a cylinder excavated at Dülük Baba Tepesi (Doliche), on which the hunter/protector clad in court robe is a spear-wielder, reminiscent of the Seyitömer Höyük representation.⁴⁹ An old text, a fragmentary Assyrian cuneiform prism in the British Museum (82-5-22.2) can be mentioned in the context of the concepts of protection and violence as it provides textual evidence for the idea that hunting (seen as protection from wild animals) symbolizes the provi-

⁴⁷ Kaptan 2010. The iconography of the seal is discussed in detail in Kaptan and Coşkun n.d.

⁴⁸ Garrison and Root n.d., Garrison 2000: 135–6 n. 53, figs. 8–9, Garrison 2010a: 334–6, figs. 32.5 e–f.

⁴⁹ Schachner 2011: pl. 17.4.

sion of security to people and cities against destructive forces.⁵⁰ In Weissert's words the text reveals that the Assyrian king 'does not simply amuse himself during the hunt . . . but he is portrayed as coming to the help of both people and animals living in the plain, thus fulfilling his traditional role of a faithful shepherd'.⁵¹ This is an important link between the imagery of warrior and hunter as the protector of people and domesticated animals. Against this background the scene on SHS 3 can be recognized not as a raw expression of violence, but rather an image of the Persian man calmly restoring order and peace, with a subtle reference to representations of heroic control and combat.

IMAGERY: AN ABSTRACT DESIGN

Commenting on the stamp seal impression on Sigill.Aram. IV (Figs. 1.19–1.24, Pl. 4) in connection with seals from Anatolia is a complex task, mostly because of its very poor state of preservation. We have already discussed its state of preservation,



4.14. DS 1 on Erg. 306 (Kaptan 2002: 2.3, pls. 3–4). Photo: D. Kaptan.

⁵⁰ Weissert 1997. I am indebted to Stephanie Dalley for this reference.

⁵¹ Weissert 1997: 343. See also an important study by Maul 1995 on this subject, Muth 2008 for approaches to the interpretation of representations of violence in their own cultural history, not based on modern perceptions, and Jacobs 2009 on aspects of violence in Achaemenid art and Achaemenid political history.

and the difficulties of interpretation of the seal image.⁵² In its current state, the seal impression shows abstract elements; and as noted above, linear designs are observed on seals from nearly all periods across the region including Anatolia.⁵³ The conjecture that the image originally might have shown a highly abstracted version of the Late Babylonian worship scene would make it analogous to a number of seals found in several sites in Anatolia, including Dascylium (Fig. 4.14).⁵⁴ However, in its poor state of preservation it remains impossible to say whether the image is a heavily abstracted or re-cut version of a Babylonian type of stamp or simply a geometric design.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the Bodleian Aršāma material and Anatolian sphragistics complement each other significantly. The Bodleian letters shed light on aspects of some of the lost documents of the Dascylium archive, and illustrate how modes of social and administrative networks might have functioned in the other parts of the empire on the satrapal level. Even though the names on the Aramaic inscriptions of the Dascylium *bullae* have not been associated with a satrap—in contrast with the seal of Aršāma—they must have belonged to individuals engaged closely in the bureaucratic mechanism of the empire through Dascylium. The royal-name seals and their representations undoubtedly manifest the imperial function of the archive in Dascylium. The unique string configuration of Sigill.Aram. VIII has not been observed in Anatolia. As for the representations: that on Sigill.Aram. IV is problematic for its poor state of preservation, while the well-preserved image on the seal of Aršāma certainly associates it closely with the iconography of counterparts from Anatolia. As a result the theme of warfare, represented on the seal of Aršāma and the seals from Dascylium and Seyitömer Höyük, emerges as a highly important visual trope in the communication network of the Achaemenid empire.

⁵² On the image on the stamp seal and problems of its interpretation, see Garrison & Kaptan ii 167–71.

⁵³ Garrison & Kaptan ii 168 n. 3.

⁵⁴ Kaptan 2020 on Late Babylonian worship scenes on Achaemenid period seals from Anatolia. Among the sites are Dascylium: Kaptan 2002: 1.100–1, Bakır 2001: 180, fig. 13; Sardis: Dusinberre 2003: 279, fig. 95; Gordium: Dusinberre 2005: 58–9, cat. no. 38; Uylupınar: Kaptan 2017: 258, 263–4, n.d.; Dülük Baba Tepesi (Doliche): Schachner 2008: 74–80, pls. 10–11; Schachner 2011: colour pls. 1. 1–12, 2.1. There are other items of less secure provenance in various Turkish museum collections: Yağcı 1990, Kaptan 2009.

Nakht̥hor in Persepolis

Wouter F. M. Henkelman

1. FROM SAKASTĀN TO THE EMPIRE'S CENTRE

In the course of the 18th regnal year of Darius I (504/3), a group of almost two hundred men, with eighteen horses and thirty-one camels, made their way from the extreme north-eastern parts of the Achaemenid empire to the court of the great king, its itinerant centre:¹

^{46'} 840 l. (flour) a professional guide named Datukka (received) for Sakā (^{HAL}šá-ak-ka₄), *haldabe*, ^{47'} to them he gave (it) as rations. ^{47'-48'} 5² men each daily received 5 l.; ^{48'} 140 men each daily received 1.5 l.; ^{48'-49'} 18 horses each daily consumed 3² l.; ^{49'-50'} 31 camels each daily consumed 2 l.; ^{50'-51'} 2 men, professional guides of the Sakā (^{HAL}šá-ak-ka₄-be-na), each received 2 l.; ^{51'-52'} their 45² servants each daily received 1 l.; (during) 2 days. ^{53'} They went from Saka/Sakastān (^{AS}šá-ak-ka₄-mar) to the king. [He (D.) carried (showed)] a sealed document (travel authorization) [from] Addadda (^{HAL}ad-da-ad-^rda²⁷[-na]).²

(journal entry Fort. 1255-101:46'-53'; journal date: Dar.18 = 504/3)

¹ This text and its implications as well as most of the material presented in this contribution are more elaborately discussed in a forthcoming monograph on the satrapal network and empire-wide communication and exchange, currently in preparation (Henkelman n.d. 3). All translations, unless indicated otherwise, are by the author; all transliterations of Elamite texts have been collated. Quantities are given in litres (abbreviated l.) on the basis that one BAR (dry measure) or one *marriš* (liquid measure) was approximately ten litres (actually between 9.2 and 9.7 litres).

² The reading ^{HAL}ad-da-ad-^rda²⁷ is reasonably certain; the remaining traces of the last sign correspond well with the first DA of the name. Addadda probably reflects *Ādāta-, 'Noble, Free'. The meaning of the appellative *haldabe* (also *haltep*) is uncertain; groups characterized as such may receive meat rations (see e.g. PF 0332, PF 0333), which would fit armed groups, but not exclusively. As for the commodity issued: whereas journal Fort. 1255-101 as a whole deals with allocations of barley, the entry cited here strongly implies rations in flour, as customary for travellers. The importance of Fort. 1255-101:46'-53' was first pointed out by Mikołajczak 2018: 548-5.

The Addadda mentioned in the above text is not known otherwise. He may have been a satrap in Sakā territory or, perhaps more plausibly, a local ruler co-opted by the Achaemenid administration. The proper name *Šakka* in line 53' is preceded by the place-determinative AŠ (^{AS}šá-ak-ka₄) and followed by the inanimate separative suffix *-mar*; both show that *Šakka* is treated as a toponym (hence 'Saka/Sakastān'), not as a gentilic (as in line 46'). In other words, the text refers to the place of origin of the travellers in the same way that other texts would speak of 'from Babylonia' or 'from Lydia'. That Saka/Sakastān is not further qualified is probably significant: it was a recognizable unit for the scribe and his colleagues in the Persepolis bureaucracy. Where this Saka/Sakastān is to be located is uncertain, but the occurrence of the professional guide Datukka provides a clue since this person is repeatedly found on the road from Media, Bactria, and perhaps even Gandhāra.³ The travel company therefore is likely to have departed from Central Asia, perhaps from 'the Sakā beyond Sogdia' (DPh_p 5–6 ~ DPh_e 4–5) or from 'Sakastān beyond Sogdia' (DPh_b 4–5, KUR *gi-mir-ri*), as Darius himself puts it.⁴

Neither the precise location of Saka/Sakastān nor the exact status of Addadda are of concern here: what matters is that the region and its ruler were connected to the rest of the Achaemenid world not only by means of long-distance travel, but also by standard bureaucratic protocols. Whatever the nature of his connection to central authority, Addadda was evidently entitled to issue authorizations that allowed travellers from his region to journey all the way to the royal court and receive travel provisions at state-supported way stations in all the satrapies they crossed.⁵ The immense size of this operation becomes clear from a calculation based on the daily amount of barley flour consumed by Datukka and his caravan (840 l.). Assuming that the king dwelled in Pārsa, Elam, or Babylon at the moment of travel (since the company passed through Pārsa), the Sakā would have covered at least 3,000 km to reach him. With an average travelling speed of 25 km/day, which is probably on the optimistic side, it would have taken them 120 days. The cost of this epic journey would have amounted to 100,800 litres of barley (not to mention other provisions, replacing animals and equipment, or the costs of the return), or 3,360 silver shekels by the standard of Persepolis.

³ This appears from, *inter alia*, Fort. 0472-101:14–16 (Datukka travelling from Bactria to Susa, accompanying *haldabe* from Kammišan (*Kaviša in Gandhāra)) and NN 2349:07–09 (Datukka escorting 600 women from Media to Pārsa).

⁴ The variation witnessed in DPh is also visible in the Fortification archive. Whereas Fort. 1255-101:46'–53' refers to a journey 'from Saka/Sakastān', the only other text mentioning Sakā speaks of a journey 'to the Sakā'. This text is NN 1802 in which the travel destination was previously read (by Richard Hallock, ms.) as ^{HAL}tur⁷-ka₄-r⁷ap⁷-ik-ka₄, 'to the Turkap' (*hapax*; reading cited in Tuplin 1998: 91). Collation has shown that all the signs are clear; TUR has an Elamite value *šak*₀, however, which allows for ^{HAL}šak₀-ka₄-r⁷ap⁷-ik-ka₄, 'to the Sakā'.

⁵ The royal road system has been discussed many times. See e.g. Graf 1994, Briant 1991, Briant 2002: 358–87, 927–30, Briant 2010, Briant 2012, Seibert 2002, Kuhrt 2007: 730–62, Henkelman and Jacobs n.d.

Addadda, it should be repeated, had the authority to set a large caravan in motion and provide for its sustenance all the way to the gate of the king. He did so by issuing a *halmi*, literally a ‘seal’ or ‘sealed document’. The use of this word implies an entire world with scribes trained in drafting Aramaic documents and using terminology and formulae that would be recognizable in other parts of the empire, with a chancellery responsible for drafting authorizations and keeping their duplicates, and with Addadda or his staff handling a satrapal seal (or its equivalent in case of a vassal king), the authority of which would be acknowledged by way station managers all over the Great King’s realm.⁶

Datukka and his anonymous colleague are styled *barrišdama* (**paristāva*-), literally ‘who stands about’, but in travel contexts a technical term for ‘professional guide’. Their involvement underlines the organized and coordinated character of the journey. The same applies to the ration scales, including a one and a half-litre portion for free men and a one-litre portion for subordinates; both are ubiquitously attested in travel documents from the Persepolis Fortification archive. The five-litre ration for five men (the arithmetic actually requires seven men) is much more rare, but also attested (see e.g. PF 1255, PF 1261, PF 1393). Intended, one assumes, for senior Sakā, it finds a nice parallel in the five daily *hophen* (about five litres) of flour that Aršāma ordered for Nakhthor, the leading official of his satrapal household in Egypt (TADAE A6.9; A6.9:3(3) n.). Such a high ration has social implications, as it exceeds a single individual’s caloric needs and points to sharing within a personal entourage or with subordinates. Both the elite travellers from Saka/Sakastān and Nakhthor were enabled by their superiors to travel in a style befitting their rank. In the latter’s case, this style was further enhanced by his daily cheese or lamb, which again he presumably shared.⁷

⁶ For relations between the Central Asian Sakā and other parts of the empire (notably Bactria) compare the reflections by Briant (1982: 181–234) and Jacobs (1994: 210–12, 224–5, 227 and 2006 §§7, 7.6–7).

⁷ Apart from various kinds of flour and wine or beer, Nakhthor receives 1 [. . .] *r/d* (A6.9:3). The absence of a unit is significant and could point to animals as well as cheese (if a loan based on Old Iranian **panīra*- is restored: A6.9:3(6) n.). From a Persepolitan perspective, cheese is not attractive, however: it occurs only in connection with royal consumption (Henkelman 2010: 734–5). The only attestation of cheese in travel provisions is ADAB C1:24, where it occurs in a lavish list of commodities for the journey of a satrap (*Bys/Bessus*), hence again in elite context. Moreover, the word used there is *gbnn* (pl. or adj.), not a loan based on **panīra*-. Another option would be to read [’*m*]r, ‘lamb’. Meat rations for travellers are far from common in the Fortification archive, but still fairly well attested. In NN 0246, for one, a certain Makurriš is said to receive a daily ration of one sheep/goat while travelling from India to the king. Significantly, Makurriš carried a travel authorization issued by Parnakka. Unless he had previously come from Parnakka (circular *halmi*; cf. §6), this may have been a forwarded authorization, drafted at Persepolis but sent to India and handed to Makurriš. In that case, the heartland authorities wanted to make sure that an obviously high-placed individual would travel in a way befitting his rank. Needless to say, moreover, Makurriš shared the animal with other people not mentioned in NN 0246. A few other texts are a bit more specific and some indicate that a single animal could be

The amount of flour received by Nakht̥hor and by the travelling Sakā is more than an amusing detail, as it may refer to certain ration standards and to official recognition of social status within a state system. This detail alone therefore warrants a review of the travel document for Nakht̥hor from a Persepolitan perspective.

2. A NETWORK OF SEALS

On 25 May 1476, Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, wrote to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, complaining about the loss of his privy seal (*sigillum secretum*—not the Great Seal), making it impossible for him to seal the letter he was dispatching to him. The seal, normally in the custody of the first chamberlain (the duke's half-brother Anthony), had fallen into the hands of the Swiss confederates in the aftermath of the battle of Grandson on March 2nd of the same year, together with a complete ducal chancellery and numerous court paraphernalia, as well as thousands of barrels of herring, sardines, and eels. Not only could Charles no longer authenticate letters, but the same applied to orders and decrees regulating daily life at the court and lesser affairs of state. The loss of the privy seal effectively meant the laming of the ducal bureaucracy.⁸

Nearly two thousand years earlier, on 6 June 500, Parnakka, director of the Persepolis economy and satrap (or official of equal rank) of Pārsa, issued two letter-orders on wine and barley deliveries for the regular sacrifices in a place called Gimarukkaš. Parnakka faced the same problem as the Duke of Burgundy, but reacted more proactively to it by adding an impression of a replacement seal to the news of the loss of his old one:

⁰¹⁻⁰² Speak to Ušaya, the wine director (lit. wine carrier), ⁰²⁻⁰³ Parnakka speaks as follows: ⁰³⁻⁰⁵ '300 l. wine issue to them, priests who (are) at Gimarukkaš. ⁰⁵⁻⁰⁸ Let them use/prepare it as an offering-gift (*daušam*) for the gods whom (they worship) at Gimarukkaš, ⁰⁸ (in) the 22nd year. ⁰⁹⁻¹⁰ As (it) formerly was given to them (so issue to them now). ¹⁰⁻¹¹ Also, the seal (*halmi*) that previously (was) mine, ¹² that is lost (*pitika*). ¹²⁻¹⁴ Now, (as) replacement, my seal (is the one) which is impressed on this tablet (*tuppi*). ¹⁵⁻¹⁶ Šakšabanuš wrote (the tablet), ¹⁶⁻¹⁷ he received the order (*dumme*) from Pilidan. ¹⁷⁻²⁰ 22nd year, third month, sixteenth day (06.VI.500).

(letter-order PF 2067; seal: PFS 0016*)

shared among groups comparable in size to Nakht̥hor and his thirteen companions: NN 2028 (one head/ten men), PF 1573 (one head/thirteen men), NN 1807 and NN 2062 (one head/thirty men), NN 0645 (one head/fifty men). All these texts use the generic logogram for sheep/goats, the use of which does not exclude that the animals issued were actually lambs.

⁸ The golden stamp seal of Charles the Bold is kept in the Staatsarchiv des Kantons Luzern, Inv. PD 1; for a description see Schmutz 2008.

^{01–02} Speak to Irištīmanka, ^{02–03} Parnakka speaks as follows: ^{03–05} ‘500 l.⁷ barley issue to them, priests who (are) at Gimarukkaš. ^{05–08} Let them use/prepare it as an offering-gift (*daušam*) for the gods whom (they worship) at Gimarukkaš, ^{08–09} (in) the 22nd year. ^{09–11} As (it) formerly was given to them, so (issue to them now). ^{11–13} Also, the seal (*halmi*) that previously (was) mine, ^{13–14} that seal is lost (*pitika*). ^{14–16} Now, (as) replacement, the seal which is impressed on this tablet (*tuppi*), that (is) mine.’ ^{16–17} Umayā wrote (the tablet), ^{18–19} he received the order (*dumme*) from Pilidan. ^{19–22} 22nd year, third month, sixteenth day (06.VI.500).⁹

(letter-order PF 2068; seal: PFS 0016*)

In terms of content, the foremost keyword of the Persepolis Fortification archive is undoubtedly *gal*, ‘share, portion, ration, remuneration, offering’. The term reflects the rationing- and redistribution-oriented perspective of the institutional household economy centred on Persepolis. From a procedural perspective, however, the word *halmi* (also *halmu*; pronounced /alm(i)/) ranks first. As illustrated above, its primary meaning is ‘seal’, i.e. a stamp or cylinder that can one can *hara-*, ‘impress’, in clay or wax.¹⁰ As such, *halmi* and its Aramaic equivalent *ḥtm* are sometimes used in seal inscriptions (‘seal of PN’); this is also the case for the seal of Aršāma.¹¹

The word *halmi* acquired a series of derivative meanings, ranging from ‘seal impression’ to ‘sealed document’, ‘letter-order’, and ‘travel authorization’. In all these uses, the primary meaning, ‘seal’, remained paramount. It was the seal and the seal image that carried authority, expressed jurisdiction and, where appropriate, inspired awe. In a sense, the directives recorded in the documents to which the seal was attached or onto which it was impressed were extensions of its legal and representative power. This is exemplified by a passage in Thucydides, in which Artabazus is dispatched to Dascylium with a letter for Pausanias and the instruction to show its (royal) seal to the Spartan regent.¹²

⁹ The translation, which tries to render faithfully the small differences between the two documents, diverges from that offered by Hallock (1969: 639) in a number of details, notably the interpretation of *pitika*. Whereas Hallock took this to mean ‘replaced’, the meaning ‘lost’ seems called for as the notion of replacement is already expressed by the ensuing *nakkanna*, ‘replacement’ (a noun built on *naka*, ‘instead of’). The form *pitika* is attested several times in contexts that require ‘lost’ (notably NN 1465, see §6 below). See Hinz and Koch 1987 s.vv. *pi-ti-ik*, *pi-ti-qa*, *na-ak-kân-na*, *na-ak-qa-na*, Stolper 2015: 16–18, Stolper 2017a: 745–6, and Stolper 2018a: 303–7. On PF 2067 and PF 2068 see Henkelman 2008a: 151, 283 with n. 640.

¹⁰ For a rare Achaemenid seal impression on wax see Overlaet in Gubel and Overlaet 2007: no. 339. The phrase *hal-mi ha-ra-ka*, ‘the seal was impressed’, occurs already in Neo-Elamite (MDP 9 6 in Scheil 1907: 8–9). This is also one of the earliest attestations of Elamite *halmi*, which is not surprising given the paucity of Elamite administrative documents. Cameron took the late appearance of the word as indication for its non-nativeness, proposing derivation from Aramaic *ḥtm* (1948: 53). The Elamite phoneme that he cites in support, a voiceless lateral alveolar affricate (/tʃ/), may well be a ghost phenomenon and at any rate is based on a single example (alternation of *Hatamti* and *Haltamti*, ‘Elam’).

¹¹ See Garrison 2006: 71, Garrison & Henkelman ii 66.

¹² Thuc.1.129.1, with the remarks by Allen 2013: 30. Compare also Hdt.3.128 (although the importance of the sealing is only indirectly indicated) and Xen.*Hell.*5.1.30 (Tiribazus displays the royal seal on the King’s Peace rescript).

In this light, the common translation of royal trilingual seal inscriptions as ‘I (am) Darius the King’ is misguided: the inscription does not want to identify, but to convey undreamed-of power: ‘I, Darius, King!’¹³

From ‘seal’ it is only a small step to ‘seal impression’, although one could argue that the two were not clearly distinct in ancient usage. A late Neo-Elamite administrative text ends with the formula *halmi Huban-haltaš-na tahaka*, ‘the seal (impression) of Huban-haltaš is placed (on the tablet)’. The left edge of Fort. 1402–101, from the Fortification archive, has an impression of seal PFS 1155 stating *halmi Uššušnakana-na*, ‘seal (impression) of Uššušnakana’.¹⁴

It appears that any sealed clay tablet in the Fortification archive could be referred to as a *halmi*. Label texts sometimes describe tablets kept on a shelf or in a container collectively as *halmi*, for example, ‘this/these sealed document(s) (are those) of wine (expended at) Sanudazzi, year 23’ (NN 0468). In this role, *halmi* functions as a diplomatic term, referring to endorsed records in the full sense, whereas *tuppi*, ‘tablet’ is a material term, referring to the physical cuneiform document. Nevertheless, one has the feeling that this third use of *halmi* is somewhat restricted to records carrying specific authority. Thus the phrase *halmi hi lika*, ‘this sealed document was delivered/issued’, which is common for authoritative letter-orders (cf. below), otherwise occurs mainly in receipts issued by the personal chancellery of Parnakka or that of his deputy Ziššawiš.¹⁵ In one case, missing receipts for livestock deliveries to the court are referred to in the phrase ‘the sealed documents (*halmi*) of what was consumed Harbezza (the original supplier) took’ (PF 0696).¹⁶

With the fourth use of *halmi*, ‘letter-order’, one reaches its most developed sense, for the travel authorizations are nothing but a kind of letter-order. A letter-order or *Befehlsbrief* issued by Parnakka (or his predecessor or successor) or by Ziššawiš was the product of the (deputy) director’s staff, working

¹³ For the traditional interpretation of Achaemenid royal seal inscriptions as, essentially, identifiers, see e.g. the edition by Schmitt 1981.

¹⁴ Neo-Elamite text: MDP 9 120 in Scheil 1907: 107. Compare MDP 9 104 (ibid. 90–1), without *tahaka*, hence closer to a seal caption in the strict sense. For further Neo-Elamite attestations of *halmi/halmu* see Hinz and Koch 1987 s.vv. For Fort. 1402–101 see Stolper ap. Henkelman 2008a: 96 n. 96 (where two further possible cases are discussed).

¹⁵ See e.g. PF 0665, PF 0667. In a few cases, the self-reference ‘this sealed document’ occurs with texts issued by other high-ranking individuals, such as Irdumartiya (NN 1615). The date of issue of the *halmi* is sometimes specifically mentioned, as in NN 1000, a receipt for wine received by Parnakka during seven days in the ninth month. The document continues by stating that ‘(in) the tenth month, this sealed document was delivered/issued’. A location may also be added, as in PF 0666, *halmi hi Hidali likka*, ‘this sealed document was delivered/issued (at) Hidali’ (cf. Henkelman 2008a: 152 n. 338).

¹⁶ Missing records are a recurrent theme, treated extensively in Stolper 2017a, esp. 745–7 (see also below, §6).

from an Aramaic original that was retained by the chancellery.¹⁷ The sealed Elamite document was issued, delivered to the addressee, perhaps endorsed by means of a seal impressed on a second tablet attached to the first, and eventually returned to Persepolis. Letter-orders regularly self-reference as ‘this *halmi*’ and they are commonly referred to in so-called ‘journals,’ registers summarizing the contents of memoranda and letter-orders. In the case of the latter, the journal may state that ‘a letter-order by PN was delivered/issued’ (*halmi PN-na lika*) or that a transaction had taken place ‘in accordance with a letter-order by PN’ (*halmi PN-na-ma*). The second phrase, specifically in the form *halmi sunki-na-ma*, ‘in accordance with a letter-order by the king’ (lit. ‘in/by the seal of the king’), finds an exact parallel in Aramaic *bḥtm mlk*’ (lit. ‘by the seal of the king’).¹⁸

As said, travel authorizations are a kind of letter-order, a fact also demonstrated by the Nakhṭhor letter. They are special, however, for the authority they carry, which appears to have been limited to the king, certain members of the royal house, satraps, and their deputies. Roughly the same group could issue orders characterized by the Elamite verb *šera-*, ‘to command, to order a compelling directive’ (cf. Garrison & Henkelman ii 58, 151–2).

That those issuing a *halmi* in the sense of ‘(travel) authorization’ are typically satraps has not always been recognized, but finds support in those cases where the issuing person is known from other sources. This is true for Parindadda (Pherendates, satrap in Egypt), Uštana (Uštānu, satrap in Babylonia and Across-the-River), and Irdapirna (Artaphernes, satrap in Lydia). Moreover, three *halmi*-issuing officials are actually designated ‘satrap’ (*šakšabama*) in the Elamite texts: Karkiš (Kermān), Irdumašda (Makā), and Zamašba (Makā). By this measure, the Greek sources seem to be correct when they indicate that travel authorizations needed the intervention of a satrap.¹⁹

The role of satraps is significant as their title, *xšaçaṣavān-*, means ‘protector of the realm’ and implies delegation of royal power. The few satrapal seals known, including those of Aršāma and Parnakka, are splendid works of glyptic art. (See the Appendix below, pp. 238–69.) They are fitting instruments for the

¹⁷ On chancellery protocol, document circulation, and document handling see Henkelman 2008a: 147–62 (esp. 151–2 on letter-orders), Tavernier 2008, Tavernier 2017, Tavernier iii 75–96, Azzoni and Stolper 2015. Note that some letter-orders were issued at Susa, presumably because Parnakka was attending court there on the occasion of the New Year’s celebration (NN 1040, issued 7/II/23; NN 1775, issued 29/XII/21). On other documents issued at Susa but pertaining to affairs in Pārsa as well as ‘document spillage’ between the Susa and Persepolis archives see Henkelman 2017a: 122–9.

¹⁸ The Aramaic phrase is found in PFAT 0095, on which see Azzoni 2008: 262 (and compare Henkelman 2008a: 90). For the *halmi PN-na-ma* formula see e.g. the various entries in PF 1948; for the formula *halmi PN-na lika* see e.g. the various entries in PF 1946. The uses of Akk. *kunukku* (‘seal, seal impression, sealed tablet’, cf. CAD K: 543–8) may also be compared.

¹⁹ For discussion of the relevant Elamite, Greek, and other sources see Briant 1991: 70–2, Briant 2002: 364–8, Henkelman n.d. 1, Henkelman n.d. 3.

conveyance of awe-inspiring authority. From this perspective, it is probably significant that the vast majority of Persepolis scribes preferred to use *halmi*, with its original meaning ‘seal’ still implied, to refer to travel authorizations. Only a relatively small minority used Old Iranian **viyātika*- (Elamite *miyatukkaš*), although it has the more precise meaning ‘belonging to travel’ (hence ‘travel document, travel authorization’) and would therefore seem to be more suitable than *halmi* with its wider semantic range.²⁰

Seals are ubiquitous in the Fortification archive at large, but particularly plentiful in travel contexts. Apart from the satraps who attached their beautiful seals to travel authorizations, the travellers themselves were required to carry a seal of their own. Even if they failed to do so (which was rarely the case), they had to substitute it by anything that could be impressed (an earring, a coin). With it they countersigned the receipts of the provisions received at the way stations and sealed by the way station manager/supplier. All these seals and their intricate interaction spell the conveyance of (legal) identity and authority by means of glyptic images.

For all the reasons evoked here, a travel authorization without seal attached to it would have been anathema to any self-respecting Achaemenid administrator. Therefore, despite its divergent open letter format, the travel authorization for Nakht̥hor surely was not left without a seal (Tuplin i 147, iii 24 n. 74). Rather, it presumably had a seal appended to it in a way that allowed consultation of the document at multiple occasions. One of the Aršāma sealings, Sigill. Aram.VIII, actually seems to fit the required format (Allen 2013: 29–30; cf. Garrison & Kaptan ii 42).

The Nakht̥hor travel authorization is the only surviving record of its class and even this document is occasionally regarded as a different kind of record (cf. §6). It is generally assumed that authorizations for long-distance travel on the royal roads were as a rule written in Aramaic, hence on perishable materials. The same is true for the draft documents (or duplicates) that were retained by the satrapal chancelleries. What we have in the Fortification archive are the Elamite receipts for provisions at local way stations as well as their summaries in ‘journals.’ Such texts are numerous: single memoranda and journal entries mentioning travel authorizations (*halmi* or *miyatukkaš*) together amount to a corpus of at least 1,300 discrete documents.

3. OF THE MOUNTAINS AND THE PLAINS

Royal Achaemenid inscriptions picture a near-infinite realm stretching to the farthest corners of the known world, an empire ‘of the mountains and the

²⁰ On *xšaçaṣavān*- and **viyātika*- see Tavernier 2007: 79 (2.4.3.3), 410–11 (4.4.3.19), with references.

Judging from the Persepolis Fortification archive, sending individuals and (sometimes very large) groups in every direction through the empire must have been a routine operation, at least from the perspective of the crown, the satraps, and the leading administrators. We saw already the example of Datukka, who accompanied various groups on the road from Media, Bactria, and perhaps Gandhāra (§1). His case is far from exceptional, and the travel of Nakhthor from Susa or southern Babylonia to Egypt in fact would have been fairly standard. Consider, for example, the following journal entry:

(journal entry Fort. 2009-102(+2012-102+2012-104):42-3; journal date: Dar.22)

The Egyptians had without doubt previously been deployed at the palatial sites that were being developed at Tamukkan since the reign of Cyrus. These formed the centre of a sea province controlling the northern Persian Gulf. During the reign of Darius I thousands of craftsmen were sent there from all over the empire, strikingly illustrating the effectiveness of the road network, but also the value of trained workers. Among the crowds flocking to Tamukkan were other groups of Egyptians who made their way there during the following year: twenty-nine painters (or specialists of vitreous materials) and 690 stonemasons.²¹

²¹ Painters or specialists of vitreous materials (*karsup*): NN 1177 (III/23); stone masons (ḪAR-mazzip): NN 0480 (IV/23). Both texts are published, with commentary, in Henkelman 2017b: 278–82, with pls. 7–8. For Tamukkan/Taoce see Henkelman 2008b, Henkelman 2012, Henkelman

If the logistic operation necessary to bring craftsmen from Cappadocia, Egypt, Lycia, north-west Anatolia ('Skudra'), Bactria, and even Sogdia to Tamukkan may have filled one or another administrator with a sense of pride, the effect the passing groups will have had on suppliers, way station managers, or other local staff can scarcely be overestimated. The royal road network brought the empire to Pārsa, which must have been a transformative experience not only for the travellers, but also for those immediately involved in the organization. Once more two sample texts may serve to illustrate this point:

⁰¹ 3 l. flour, ⁰¹⁻⁰³ [allocation] from Haturd[a(d)da], ⁰³⁻⁰⁴ (a man) named Šad[dami(š)ša][?] received. ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁶ 2 men[?] each are receiving 1.5 [l.]. ⁰⁶⁻⁰⁸ He (Š.) carried (showed) a sealed document (travel authorization) from Parindadda (Pherendates). ⁰⁹ [They went] to the king. ¹⁰⁻¹² 27th year, first month (March–April 495).

(memorandum NN 2472; seals: PFS 0055, PFS 3082s)

⁰¹ 2[?] l. flour ⁰¹⁻⁰⁴ an express messenger (*pirradaziš*) named Akmušša (received). ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁷ He carried (showed) a sealed document (travel authorization) from Parindadda (Pherendates); ⁰⁷⁻⁰⁸ he went to the king. ⁰⁸⁻¹¹ 27th year, second month (April–May 495).

(memorandum NN 1271; seals: PFS 2839, PFS 2963s)

NN 2472 and NN 1271 are the only two edited texts that mention Parindadda, known from two Demotic papyri dating to the years 493 and 492 as the satrap of Egypt ('to whom Egypt is entrusted'). Direct references to him are so rare in the Fortification material for the simple reason that travellers from Egypt would regularly receive new travel documents in Babylon or Susa. They would therefore appear in our documentation as carrying an authorization from Uštana or Bakabana (cf. §4). That this did not happen in the case of Šaddami(š)ša and Akmušša is because both were express messengers (implicit in the case of the former) on urgent missions. The two memoranda cited here are part of a file of about twenty texts dating to year 27 and the beginning of year 28 (i.e. 495–494) and dealing mostly with express messengers coming to and from the king and carrying messages to and from the satraps of Lydia, Egypt, Elam, and perhaps Cilicia, as well as from the king's son Artobarzanes. This intense communication may reflect a concerted effort in response to the Ionian revolt, as John Hyland has recently suggested.²²

2017a: 135–44, Henkelman 2018b: 229–31, Tolini 2011: 1.74–7, 191–200. Kurkatuš (mentioned in line 63, the colophon of Fort. 2009–102), is associated with the office represented by seal PFS 0010 (see PF 1170). This office can be located in the western part of the so-called Fahliyan area (see Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 211–15; cf. below, p. 220 with n. 45).

²² For the dates of P.Dem.Berlin 13539 (December 493) and P.Dem.Berlin 13540 (April 492) see Chauveau 1999. For the identification of Parindadda as Pherendates see D. M. Lewis ap. Tuplin 1998: 81 n. 46, Henkelman 2017b: 294, Henkelman n.d. 1 A6.9:2(4) n. The case is discussed in detail in Henkelman n.d. 3. For a possible connection of the missions of Šaddamišša, Akmušša, and others with the Ionian revolt see Hyland 2019. Hyland tentatively links Mišmina, one of those who issue *halmi* for express messengers in Dar.27, with Cilicia.

Regardless of the possible historical context, Haturda(d)da in NN 2472 and the anonymous supplier in NN 1271 appear to have reacted adequately when the express messengers came galloping into their respective way stations. Though travel authorizations (*halmi*) from Parindadda were a rarity, the system worked flawlessly, probably because the seal was recognized. Since the total number of individuals empowered to issue travel authorizations hardly exceeded one hundred and probably was lower (cf. §4), such knowledge is by itself not surprising. What matters is that the two suppliers found themselves in direct contact with messengers from Egypt, recognizable as carriers of high matters of state. It would have made very tangible the imperial network of which they were part and that, indeed, existed through them.

One could go further and zoom in on the way station supervised by Haturdada, recognizable by the use of supplier seal PFS 0055 and located in Kurdušum (Fahliyān region). In the same year, Dar.27, it saw the express messenger Šaddamišša pass at least two more times, once coming from Lydia and travelling to the king (NN 0196, XI_c/27) and once, only one month later, coming from Susa and again heading to the court (NN 2045, XII_c/27). In fact, the way station seems to have been abuzz with messengers and travellers coming and going. In year 27, three other messengers halting at Haturdada's station are attested, not to mention dozens of other travellers. To feed all these people, Haturdada's reserves had to be replenished regularly and a few texts relating to such deposits are indeed known. Moreover, since the Kurdušum station apparently was a regular stop for fast messengers, it probably was also a place where fresh horses could be obtained. This required an entire organization by itself, with three or four animals needed to have a single rested and trained horse ready every day. Such preparations bring to mind a well-known passage on Antimenes, a high administrator appointed by Alexander in Babylonia:²³

Antimenes bade the satraps replenish, in accordance with the law of the country, the storehouses/granaries (*θησαυρούς*) along the royal roads. Whenever an army passed through the country or any other body of men unaccompanied by the king, he sent an officer to sell them the contents of the storehouses/granaries.

(Ps.Arist. *Oec.* 2.2.38; cf. *ibid.* 2.2.34; translation adapted from G. C. Armstrong)

²³ The word *pirradaziš* (**frataciš*: Tavernier 2007: 421 (4.4.7.39)), 'express messenger, express service', is not consistently used. In the texts cited, Šaddamišša is only characterized as such in NN 0196. Other explicitly identified fast messengers halting at Kurdušum in Dar.27: PF 1329 (Ašbaširi; king → Susa; VIII_c/27), PF 1315 (Harmasula; Mišmina → king; X_c/27), PF 1319 (Dukapin; Mišmina → king; XI_c/27). See also the discussion in Henkelman 2017a: 77–9 with n. 52. Deposits of grain: see e.g. PF 0085, PF 0107, NN 2254. Teams of express horses: see e.g. PF 1651 (4), PF 1652 (3), PF 1653 (3), PF 1654 (3), PF 1655 (2), PF 1942:11–14 (5), PF 1942:15–18 (3), PF 1947:78–80 (6), PF 1947:81–2 (5), etc. PFS 0055 and other seals by the Kurdušum entrepôt under Haturdada are discussed in detail in Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 216–17. For the assignments of Antimenes, also in correlation with the evidence from the Fortification archive, see Briant 2002: 364–5, 452–3, Briant 2012: 188 with nn. 4–5, Henkelman 2017a: 75 with n. 45 (with further references). The meaning 'granary' for *θησαυρός* is attested from the third century onwards (see LSJ s.v.).

Table 5.1. Hindukka's journey from Kermān to Susa

Text	Seals	Commodities	Supplier	Location	halmi	Travel	Date
NN 0809	PFS 0095; PFS 0223 recipients: 100 <i>puhu</i> , their leader being Hindukka, transporting tribute	100 l. flour	Umayā	(Kaupirriš?)	Karkiš	Kermān → Susa	XII/22
NN 2139	PFS 1518s; PFS 0223 recipients: [100] <i>puhu</i> , their leader being Hindukka	100 l. flour	Kapruba	Mištukraš	Karkiš	Kermān → Susa	<i>undated</i>
PF 1377	PFS 0018; PFS 0223 recipients: Hindukka with 100 <i>puhu</i> of Bagiya	100 l. flour	Mirayauda	(Umpurānuš)	Karkiš	Kermān → Susa	I/23
PF 1399	PFS 0084; PFS 0223 recipients: Hindukka with 100 <i>puhu</i>	100 l. flour	(Muzriya)	Hidali	Karkiš	Kermān → Susa	I/23
Fort. 2066-102	PFS 0010; PFS x recipients: Hindukka with 100 <i>puhu</i>	100 l. flour ²	(Haturdada)	(Kurdušum +)	Karkiš	→ Susa, king	?/23

The granular view the Persepolis Fortification archive affords sometimes allows us to track a traveller or travelling group through the various stages of his or their journey. Such cases simultaneously highlight the limitations of the Persepolitan evidence, not only because never more than a handful of stops are covered in the preserved (and edited) part of the archive, but also because the scribes frequently left out part of the information precious to the modern observer or used alternating terms and descriptions. A case in point is that of Hindukka, a subordinate of Bagiya, who was perhaps satrap over the islanders of the Persian Gulf (see Table 5.1).²⁴

The series presented in the table is organized by approximate geographical location (from east to west) and by date. As such, it eloquently demonstrates the great potential of the Fortification material for tracking travel movements in much detail. We see Hindukka stopping in a region in central Fārs and then steadily proceeding to the border with Khūzestān, while sealing daily receipts with his personal seal, PFS 0223. The daily amount of 100 l. flour surely reflects the instructions given in the travel authorization from Karkīš, the satrap in Kermān.

At the same time, the series inspires the sobering thought that the preserved dossier is very fragmentary: there is no documentation on the journey from the border of Kermān to central Fārs; from the one or two months that the passage through the heartland appears to have taken only five receipts for the daily provisions are preserved. Also, despite the systematic layout of the travel

²⁴ On the file and the status of Bagiya see Henkelman 2003: 133–4 n. 53, Henkelman 2008a: 414 ad 27, Henkelman 2017a: 52 n. 8, Henkelman n.d. 3. In Table 5.1 names given in brackets are based on prosopographic analysis; supplier seals are underlined. For Umaya at Kaupirriš (or a nearby place) and supplier seal PFS 0095 see Henkelman 2011c: 146–8 ad 2, Henkelman 2017b: 279 ad 2 (with references). Kapruba at Mištukraš (in the Kaupirriš region) is briefly discussed in Hallock 1978: 111 and Arfa'i 1999: 40. Mirayauda, supplier at Umpuranuš (central Fahliyan region) and his supplier seal PFS 0018 are very well attested; see detailed discussion in Henkelman 2008a: 504–6 and Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 237–50. Seal PFS 0084 is variously associated with grain, beer, and flour deliveries at Hidali (in the western Fahliyan region; see Henkelman 2017a: 97–9, with references). Whenever a supplier is mentioned with the flour deliveries under seal PFS 0084, his name is Muzriya/Mudariya (PF 1398, PF 1408, PF 1596). The recipient seal on Fort. 2066-102 has not been identified yet, but is certainly not PFS 0223 (pers. comm. M. B. Garrison, 16 December 2018), which makes the text an outlier in the series. The supplier seal on the left edge is PFS 0010, which points to Kurdušum or a nearby place in the western Fahliyan (cf. n. 21). The text is dated to *ra-hal*^{MES}, an Elamite or 'Susan' month name that appears in Neo-Elamite documents and very infrequently in the Fortification archive. It is commonly interpreted as a name of the seventh month, mainly because no other name for the seventh month occurs in the Neo-Elamite Acropole archive (Basello 2002: 21–2, 24; see also Steve 1992: 160). Other texts sealed with PFS 0010 always have Elamite month names, except for three cases where Rahal is used (PF 1366, NN 1713, Fort. 2066-102; see Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 216–17 with n. 105). All Elamite months are attested in the PFS 0010 file, except II, VI, and VII. Unless the scribes associated with the seal used different month names interchangeably, Rahal should be one of these three months. If Fort. 2066–102 dates to the seventh month its inclusion in the series becomes problematic, and a second mission by Hindukka should be considered.

network, the documentation is quite variable. The only elements consistently present in the five records listed above are the dual seal impressions, the mention of the commodity and its quantity, and the authority that issued the *halmi*. The name of the supplier and the location, as well as the origin of travel could be inferred by informed readers and therefore were sometimes left out. Other information was even less relevant for the purposes of bureaucratic process; it was only at the will of the individual scribe that it was sometimes excerpted from the travel authorization. Thus, three of the five texts contain unique elements: that the group transported tribute (*kapnuški*; NN 0809); that the *puhu* (servants, professional aides) were associated with Bagiya (PF 1377); that they were heading not only to Susa but more particularly to the king (Fort. 2066–102). Much or all of this evidence would have remained hidden if only one or two texts had been preserved, which is actually the rule.

4. SATRAPS OF DARIUS I

Identifying satraps from the names associated with travel authorizations in combination with travel origins and destinations, ethnonyms, seal impressions, and prosopographical analysis has a long history in the study of the Persepolis Fortification archive. Richard Hallock's pioneering efforts yielded five (outside Pārsa), announced in and directly after the publication of his magisterial *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*; Walther Hinz mentioned seven in 1970; David Lewis reached the number of nine in the early 1980s by using additional manuscript editions by Hallock. By 1993, Heidemarie Koch could recognize sixteen satraps in the same overall corpus of about 5,000 published and unpublished Fortification tablets. Yet—as an illustration of the complexity of the material—seven of her identifications have meanwhile turned out to be erroneous, bringing the discussion back more or less to the point that Lewis had reached.²⁵

In comparison to the earlier treatments recent years have witnessed significant advances in our understanding of the satraps at the time of Darius I, both in terms of the number of identified positions and with regard to the internal coherence of the satrapal network. This progress is largely due to the ongoing work of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project (since 2006), more particularly

²⁵ See Hallock 1969: 6, Hallock 1985 [1971]: 590–1, Hinz 1970: 430, Lewis 1977: 19 n. 96, 84–5 n. 14, Lewis 1984, Lewis 1985, Lewis ap. Tuplin 1998: 81 n. 46, Koch 1993: 5–48 (esp. p. 47). The following of Koch's identifications invite correction: Dadda(na) (not in Across-the-River; probably not a satrap), Irdapirzana (not in Parthia; probably not a satrap), Irdatakma (in Gandhāra, not Arachosia), Mišdašba (in Hyrcania or Parthia-Hyrcania, not in Media), Mišmina (perhaps in Cilicia, not in India), 'Parnakša' (not in Parthia; erroneous reading); 'Šamanna' (not in Makā; erroneous reading). All these cases are discussed in Henkelman n.d. 3.

Table 5.2. Travel authorizations by Šukra/Tuk(k)urra

Text	Travellers	Origin	halmi	Destination	Date
Fort. 0000-102:49-50	Mazyana + 60 workers (<i>kurtas</i>)	Tuk(k)urra	Tuk(k)urra	[...]	VIII/16
Fort. 1921A+B-101:09-11	Muška, express messenger + 3 servants + workers (<i>kurtas</i>)	Cappadocia	Šukra	Irdumartiya at Pārsa	IX/16
Fort. 1993-102:13'-14'	[PN] + Cappadocians	Media	Šukra	Pārsa	Ø/(20 ⁱ)
Fort. 1743-102:07'-10'	[PN] + 1 man + 3 servants + Cappadocian workers (<i>kurtas</i>)	Tuk(k)urra	Tuk(k)urra	[...]	[...]/21
NN 2657:16'-17'	Kutuyana [?] + 20 servants (<i>puhu</i>) (of/for) Uddana (Otanēs)	Media	Tuk(k)urra	Pārsa	Ø/([...])

to Matthew Stolper whose editorial efforts made some 1,700 new texts available for research. Many of these are elaborate journals, often rich in entries on travel. As a result, some thirty individuals can currently be identified as satrap or deputy-satrap and be located on the map of the empire with a measure of confidence. Among these may be mentioned the identification of Šukra/Tuk(k)urra as satrap in Cappadocia, done entirely on the basis of recently edited texts (Table 5.2).

Elamite Tuk(k)urra reflects Old Iranian 𐎧𐎱𐎼𐎿, known as the name of the father of Utāna-/Otanēs in the Elamite and Old Persian versions of the Bisotūn inscription. Šukra is the Elamograph of a dialectal ('Median') variant, *Sukra-, known from the Babylonian version of the same inscription.²⁶ In the above texts, Tuk(k)urra/Šukra is once directly associated with Cappadocia (Fort. 1921A+B-101:09–11) and twice with Cappadocians (Fort. 1743-102:07'–10', travelling via Media in Fort. 1993-102:13'–14'). This plausibly identifies Tuk(k)urra/Šukra as satrap of Cappadocia; that travellers for whom he issued a travel authorization are sometimes stated to come 'from Media' relates to the road they had chosen.

The connection of Tuk(k)urra/Šukra with Cappadocia evokes the genealogy of the later rulers of Cappadocia, as stated in Photius' epitome of the thirty-first book of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* (Phot. *Bibl.* 244 pp. 382–3 = Diod. 31.19.1–8, esp. 19.1). There, it is claimed that the Ariarathids traced their ancestry both to Cyrus and to Anaphas (Ἀναφᾶν, acc.), said to be one of the seven conspirators against the Magus. Although Anaphas or Onophas (Ctesias) actually was a son of the conspirator Otanes, as a Fortification text confirms, Greek sources repeatedly confuse the two, perhaps as result of a changing family saga. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the Cappadocian kings saw themselves or were portrayed as descendants of house of Otanes.²⁷

The discovery of Tuk(k)urra/Šukra (𐎧𐎱𐎼𐎿/*Sukra-) as satrap of Cappadocia does not exactly 'confirm' the Cappadocian dynastic genealogy, which at any rate is partly garbled and partly suspect (not to mention the distorting lens of Photius' epitome), but it does fit the putative connection between the house of Otanes and the satrapy of Cappadocia. Tuk(k)urra/Šukra the satrap may well have been the father of the conspirator Otanes. In generational terms this would make him a peer of Hystaspes, Darius' father, who in roughly the same period served as satrap in Parthia-Hyrcania or Hyrcania (cf. below). The twenty

²⁶ 𐎧𐎱𐎼𐎿: DB_c III.90, ^{DIS}*du-uk-kur-ra* ~ DB_p IV.83–4, ^r*θ-u-x-r-h-y-a*^r (gen.); see Tavernier 2007 20 (1.2.27), 63 (2.2.57). *Sukra-: DB_c 110, ^m*su-uḫ-ra-*²; see *ibid.* 63 (2.2.54).

²⁷ Fort. 0472-101:17–18 mentions 'Unapa son of Uddana'. The name of Unapa (cf. Anaphas, Onophas) is thought to reflect *(H)unāfa- (Tavernier 2007 : 208 (4.2.811); but see Schmitt 2011: 276–7). For the 𐎧𐎱𐎼𐎿-/Utāna-/*(H)unāfa- dossier see Henkelman 2017a: 165–7, Henkelman 2018b: 228 n. 28, Henkelman 2018c: 39 n. 27, Henkelman n.d. 3. For the Ariarathids and their alleged Iranian descent see Briant 2002: 132–5, 904, Michels 2017: 48–51, both with references.

‘servants or aides (*puhu*) of/for Udduna’ (Otanés) travelling with a *halmi* of Tuk(k)urra (NN 2657:16’–17’) gain additional significance in this light and suggest an operation between members of the same family. That said, it is not entirely excluded that Tuk(k)urra was not the father but an otherwise unknown homonymic son of Udduna/Otanés.

As said, Tuk(k)urra/Šukra is one of thirty satraps or deputy-satraps who can be identified with a degree of confidence. This total excludes members of the royal family (Irdapirzana/Artobarzanes; perhaps Udusa/Atossa) and the king himself, whose itinerant chancellery appears to have been more productive than all others.²⁸ The names and proposed locations of the satraps and deputy-satraps may be listed as follows:²⁹

<i>Elamite</i>	<i>(Reconstructed) Iranian</i>	<i>Greek (and other forms)</i>
PĀRSA		
<i>A. main satrap</i>		
1. Irdumartiya	Ṛtavardiya-	—
2. Parnakka	*Farnaka-	Pharnaces
3. Ašbazana	Aspacanā (nom.)	Aspathines
<i>B. deputy</i>		
Ziššawiš, Zitrawiš (etc.)	*Ciçavahuš, *Ciθravahuš	—
ELAM		
<i>A. main satrap</i>		
Bakabana	*Bagapāna-	Megapanus
<i>B. deputy</i>		
Mardunda, Marsunda	*Vṛdvanta-, *Vṛzvanta-	Mardontes
BABYLONIA AND ACROSS-THE-RIVER		
Uštana	*(H)ustāna-	Hystanes, Ostanas (Bab. Uštānu)

²⁸ More than five hundred texts in the edited part of the Persepolis Fortification archive concern travellers coming from or heading to the King of Kings. Even in the Pārsa-oriented perspective of the archive it remains therefore clearly visible that the centre of the empire was where the king and his court were. For the royal travel dossier see Henkelman n.d. 3. A *halmi* from Udusa/Atossa is mentioned in Fort. 0328–101:15–17, but the commodities issued are for a full month; the text may concern local travel (for this and other texts mentioning Udusa see Stolper 2018b). The texts mentioning a *halmi* from Irdapirzana/Artobarzanes (PF 1463, PF 2052, NN 0931) do seem to concern inter-regional or long-distance travel, but contain no clues as to the prince’s whereabouts (cf. Koch 1993: 40–1, who suspects that he was a satrap).

²⁹ All individuals listed here are treated in detail in Henkelman n.d. 3; some have already been discussed in Henkelman 2017a. For the (reconstructed) Iranian forms see Tavernier 2007 s.vv. (with references) with the exception of Addadda/*Ādāta- (Henkelman) and Irdumašda/*Ṛtāvazdā- (Tavernier 2015). The Latinized Greek (and Aramaic, Babylonian, Demotic) forms are cited for the sake of convenience. They indicate that the name form exists in Greek, not necessarily that the individual (deputy) satrap is actually known as such in Greek or other non-Elamite sources.

EGYPT

Parindadda	*Farnadāta-	Pherendates, Pharandates (Dem. <i>Prntt</i> , ° <i>dd</i> ; Ar. <i>Prndt</i>)
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LYDIA

Irdapirna	*Ṛtafarnā (nom.)	Artaphernes
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CAPPADOCIA

Šukra, Tukkurra	*Suxra-, Θuxra-	—
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CILICIA (?)

Mišmina	*Višmina-	—
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MEDIA

A. *main satrap*

Mitarna	*Vidṛna-	Hydarnes, Idarnes
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B. *deputy*

Mannapirriya, Mannaparriš	*Vanafrya-, *Vanafriš	—
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PARTHIA

Irtašduna	*Ṛtastünā (nom.)	(cf. f. Artystone)
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HYRCANIA

Mišdašba	Vištāspa-	Hystaspes
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AREIA

Harbamišša	*Arbamiča-	Harmamithres
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BACTRIA

Irdabanuš	*Ṛtabānuš	Artabanus
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SAKASTĀN

Addadda	*Ādāta-	—
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GANDHĀRA

Irdatakma	*Ṛtātaxma-	Artochmes (?)
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HINDUŠ

Irdu(k)bama	*Ṛtāupama-	(Bab. Artūpam)
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ARACHOSIA

A. *main satrap*

Bakabaduš, Bakabasu	*Bagabāduš, *Bagabāzu-	Megabazus
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B. *deputy* (?)

Bakaparna	*Bagafarnā (nom.)	Megaphernes (Ar. <i>Bgprn</i>)
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Zitrabanuš	*Cičabanuš	—
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DRANGIANA

Manzana	*(H)uvancanah- (?)	—
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KERMĀN

A. *main satrap*

Karkiš	*Karkiš	Gergis
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B. <i>deputy</i> (?)		
Šutkara	*Çütakāra-	—
Mikkurrašba	*Vigrāspa-	—
ISLANDS IN THE PERSIAN GULF (?)		
Bagiya	*Bagiya-	Bagaeus
MAKĀ		
Irdumašda	*Rtāvazdā (nom.)	Artabazus
Zamašba	*Jāmāspa-	(cf. f. Damaschia; Ar. <i>Zmsp</i>)

The dataset presented here, it should be stressed, rests entirely on documentation from the Achaemenid heartland. As such, it reflects the maturing of a perspective that became one of the central tenets of the *Achaemenid History* school and that advocates a resolute emphasis on primary sources, regardless of their fragmentary or otherwise challenging nature. This should not be taken to imply, however, that the above list is anything other than a work in progress. For one thing, there are at least ten more individuals who issue travel authorizations, who may have been satraps, but who cannot at present be connected to any part of the empire.

In addition, the list is lopsided in that it privileges the eastern part of the Achaemenid world. The reason is that travel authorizations were regularly renewed, notably in important hubs such as Babylon, Susa, or Ecbatana. For this reason, people travelling from Hyrcania could turn up in the records as coming from Media and people from Egypt as coming from Susa. That last city was so important and its chancellery so industrious that only a smaller part of travellers from the western satrapies can be recognized as such: many appear in the Fortification archive simply as coming from Elam with an authorization from its satrap, Bakabana. The corpus of travel texts includes hundreds of travel parties characterized in this way. To aggravate the problem, it should be assumed that many other journeys from the western satrapies ended at Susa. Since only snippets from the ‘Susa Fortification archive’ survive, such travellers and the travel authorizations they carried remain entirely beyond our sight.³⁰

5. THE SATRAPAL NETWORK

The Persepolis Fortification archive essentially covers only sixteen years in the reign of Darius I (years 13–28, 509–493), even if a small range of texts date to earlier and later years (Stolper n.d.). Patronymics are rarely mentioned in

³⁰ On the position of Susa in the road network see Briant 2010. For the remaining fragments of Achaemenid archives from Susa see Garrison 1996 and Henkelman 2017a: 113–22.

general as are references to past situations. This circumstance does not, however, entirely obscure our view of developments and continuities *vis-à-vis* earlier and later periods, provided that the Elamite material is carefully contextualized with the help of other sources. Thus, the combined evidence of Bīsotūn and the Fortification archive now allows us to comment on the length of Hystaspes' term as satrap in Parthia-Hyrcania (or Hyrcania), starting in or before 521 and continuing to his death sometime before November/December 501. His colleague Mitarna (Hydarnes) may have been appointed satrap in Media after his victory there in 521 and is last attested in this role in the archive in 498/7. The combination of Elamite and Babylonian sources extends the certain tenure of Uštana/Uštānu in Babylonia and Across-the-River to the period from 520 until at least 501/500. Such stable appointments at crucial positions are of evident significance for an evaluation of the reign of Darius, but they are also a comment on the tenure of some thirty (if not fifty) years of the younger Aršāma as satrap of Egypt.³¹

Fragments of satrapal careers are sometimes visible. Bagiya/Bagaeus has tentatively been identified as satrap on the islands in the Persian Gulf, in part in view of his high status and his connection with Kermān, and in part because of the 'Mardontes son of Bagaeus' who commanded the islanders of the Persian Gulf in Xerxes' army (Hdt.7.80). This, in turn, led to a further speculation that the said Mardontes is no other than Mardunda, the deputy satrap in Elam as attested in the Fortification archive. If correct, this would imply that he held a junior position prior to succeeding to his father in the island satrapy. The evidence is circumstantial, but the possibility of a *cursus honorum* for high-ranking Persians should be kept in mind: satrapal appointments need not have been single decisions, but may have been informed by anterior steps in a career.³²

Whereas external sources help to soften the chronological boundaries of the Fortification material, the tablets themselves add an important dimension to the often limited perspective of (notably) the classical sources on satrapal

³¹ On Aršāma's term in office see Tuplin iii 8–11, 39–45, Garrison & Henkelman ii 51–3. The case of Mišdašba/Hystaspes took a decisive turn with the edition of Fort. 2045–101:30–2 (Hyrcanian women travelling with a *halmi* from Mišdašba) and Fort. 0304–101:23–5 (horses of Mišdašba brought from Hyrcania to Pārsa). Six texts explicitly connect Mitarna/Hydarnes to Media (Fort. 1900–005:23'–24'', Fort. 1911–001:39'–42', Fort. 1912–103:24', 35', 36', 38') and one to Ecbatana (Fort. 1316–101:10'–11', published in Henkelman 2017c), erasing previous doubts on his assignment. Uštana/Uštānu occurs in four travel texts, two of which mention travelling Egyptians (NN 2516, Fort. 2051–102:20–1; the other two are Fort. 1693–101:09–10, 22'–3'). This and other indirect evidence allow identification with Uštānu the 'governor of Babylon and Across-the-River' attested in Babylonian documentation (including texts from the recently published *āl-Yāhūdu* corpus) dating from 520 to 511. See Henkelman n.d. 3 for discussion and references on these three cases.

³² See Henkelman 2017a: 52–3 n. 8 and Henkelman n.d.3, with references.

hierarchies and on territorial jurisdictions. To begin with, the Elamite texts amply demonstrate the existence of deputy positions. Ziššawiš in Pārsa and Mardunda/Marsunda in Elam have long been known, but the principle is now also attested for Media and it can cautiously be suggested for Arachosia and Kermān. Ziššawiš, whose case is best documented, appears to have been authorized in all areas of Parnakka's jurisdiction, including cultic activities.³³ The other deputies are, of course, much less known but it deserves emphasis that they could be identified exactly because they issue travel authorizations. Their seals carried executive power and were recognized throughout the empire; their appointment was therefore not an satrapy-internal affair, but presumably a royal one.

The existence of deputies furthermore provides an important background for the interpretation of TADAE A6.9:2. There, two *pqydyn* (Prdprn and Hw[md]t) are said to be in Dmšq (Damascus) as opposed to the other (sub-) satrapies to be crossed by Nakht̥or. Although the *pqydyn* probably were (just) below satrapal rank, it may be no coincidence that a satrapy with the importance of Across-the-River (of which Damascus presumably was the administrative centre) was staffed with two rather than one high-ranking administrators. The extent of Across-the-River, stretching all the way to the Egyptian border, may also have played a role here: it is not beyond imagination that the two *pqydyn* were responsible for territorial subdivisions.³⁴

The Persepolis Fortification archive reflects subdivisions in Pārsa itself, i.e. the Persepolis, Kāmfirūz, Fahliyān, and perhaps two more regions, each headed by its own regional director and each having its own network, hierarchies, and so forth. One might call such sub-satrapal units 'provinces'. Not only does the Nakht̥or authorization refer to province(s) (A6.9:2, *mdynt*), but so, famously, does the Book of Esther (1.1) when it states that Ahasuerus's realm stretched from Hind to Kuš and counted 127 provinces (*mdynh*). Whereas there is no particular reason to credit the author of Esther with exceptional accuracy in administrative matters, the number does seem plausible enough if one assumes a realistic average of three to four subdivisions per satrapy. It is true that ancient sources are not very consistent in what they call a province—A6.9 appears to use it for larger and smaller units—but the concept is nevertheless a useful one for the analysis of empire-wide networks. The Fortification material endorses 'province' as a meaningful concept, as it refers to subdivisions of satrapies other than Pārsa, including Harberan (Arbela) and Labana (Lebanon) in Babylonia/Across-the-River, Barikana (Parikāna-) in Arachosia, and Puruš (Pura) in Kermān. Such provinces are far from systematically referenced in the travel

³³ For Ziššawiš (and his seals) see Henkelman 2003, Henkelman 2008a: 147–53, 407, 439, and index s.v., Garrison 2017c: 333–85.

³⁴ For Achaemenid Damascus see Jacobs 1994: 157 with n. 77, Jacobs 2006 §4.2.2, Briant 2002: 487.

texts, but the fact that they are known at all deserves emphasis. It suggests that they were part of a secondary network appended to the network of satrapies, that this network may not have been of prime importance for the scribes of the Elamite travel receipts, but that it may have been referenced in a more regular and significant way in other layers of documentation.³⁵

The travel authorization for Nakht̥hor may well draw from those other levels of documentation, assuming that A6:9 is indeed a formal record for use in the road system (rather than a semi-private order to Aršāma's estate managers; cf. §6 below). By this understanding, the document lists not only the administrative provinces one had to pass on the way to Egypt, but also the responsible officials in them. Aršāma's staff, while residing with him in Susa or southern Babylonia, apparently had access to such detailed information. One wonders, therefore, if knowledge of the provinces of the empire belonged to the standard requirements of a satrapal chancellery, and if the names and directors of such provinces were regularly included in travel authorizations (from which they were occasionally excerpted by the Elamite scribes).

As has been noted, Harberan (Arbela, Erbil) and Labana (Lebanon) are sometimes referred in the Fortification texts. Harberan does not (yet) occur in travel texts, but its use in administrative context at any rate shows that the name referred to a known division, thus adding some weight to the mention of Arbela ('rbl) in A6.9:1. 'Labana', which may refer to a division comprising the Phoenician cities, is mentioned in travel contexts: twice as destination, once, perhaps, as origin. In Nakht̥hor's days this division, if still in existence, would have been subsumed under the mention of 'Damascus' (Across-the-River).³⁶

³⁵ The 127 provinces are mentioned in Esth. 1:1, 8:9; compare also Dan. 6:1 (120). On *mdynh* and cognate terms see Van der Spek 2015 and A6.9:2(6) n. The Persepolis, Kāmfirūz, and Fahliyān regions were first described by Hallock (1977), but have since then become much better known (Henkelman 2008a, 118–20, Henkelman 2017a: 99–101, Henkelman n.d. 1). The 'northern cluster' with Kabaš/Gabae and the 'southern cluster' on the route to Tamukkan/Taoce are less clearly defined, but increasingly recognizable (see Henkelman 2008b and the literature cited in n. 21). For Barikana (and other subdivisions in the Aramaic notes on the green chert objects from Arachosia that were found in the Persepolis Treasury) see Henkelman 2017a: 102–9, 157–8 n. 167; for Puruš see Henkelman 2010: 705–6, Henkelman 2017a: 51, 54 n. 10. For Harberan and Labana see below.

³⁶ For Harberan/Arbela see Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 300 and Henkelman n.d. 3. The place appears in the Bisotūn inscription as a centre of some importance, given the execution of the Sagartian rebel there (DB₂ II.66, Harbera ~ DB₂ II.90, Arbairā ~ DB₂ 63, Arba'il). Labana is mentioned as the destination of travellers in NN 1609 and NN 1631. The reading of the name in Fort. 0202–101:08–09 (where it is the origin) is uncertain. The two free men and twenty-three servants (*puhu*) in that journal entry are said to carry a (renewed) authorization from Bakabana, satrap in Elam, in year 21. It may be that they are the same group as the single free man and twenty-three servants (*puhu*) travelling from Uštana (in Babylonia and Across-the-River) to the king in the same year (Fort. 1693–101:09–10). If true, this would be a case where a general authorization (Uštana) is known besides a renewal document for a particular stretch of the journey (cf. §6). On the Labana dossier see Henkelman 2017a: 161–2 n. 179 and Henkelman n.d. 3.

The analysis of the Elamite travel corpus not only reveals internal divisions of satrapies, but also cases of interregional coordination and hierarchies within the network of satraps, hence in principle in agreement with the model proposed for the late Achaemenid period by Jacobs on the basis of the Graeco-Roman sources. Hierarchies are in evidence where travellers from a particular satrapy may carry an authorization either from the local satrap or from a satrap in an adjacent satrapy and where a renewal of travel documents (cf. §6) does not appear to be at stake. This seems to be the case with Gandhāra and India, with Hyrcania and Parthia, and, perhaps, with the islands in the Persian Gulf and Kermān.³⁷

Interregional coordination is evident from travel patterns, from the transport of tribute and commodities, and from the sometimes very large groups of travellers, mostly *kurtas* ('dependent workers'). Most coordination was, naturally, between Pārsa on the one hand and the remaining satrapies on the other. Masses of people from all over the empire flocked to the heartland. This phenomenon implies targeted local recruitment, complex logistics, and a considerable financial investment, all of which must have been arranged for by contacts between the implicated satrapal administrations and the authorities in Pārsa. It is important to reiterate, however, that our perspective is fundamentally lopsided: in reality not all roads led to Persepolis (or Susa), but we lack archives from, say, Ecbatana and Bactra to calibrate our view. Nevertheless, even incidental observations correct and enrich the picture. There is, as pointed out before, a whole dossier on craftsmen from all over the empire drawn together at Tamukkan on the Persian Gulf. They travelled through Pārsa to their final destination, which appears to have fallen outside direct control from Persepolis. Among the travelling groups were, e.g. Skudrians coming from Miturna in Media, or, given their ethnonym, perhaps from even further afield, from north-western Anatolia or Thrace. Another case concerns travellers coming from Manzana, the satrap in Drangiana, who were heading to Mitarna in Media. These and other such texts are included in the Fortification archive because the travellers passed through Pārsa, but the heartland was not their final destination; their movement was the result of arrangements between other parties.³⁸

³⁷ The suggested hierarchies are all tentative, simply because we are looking from a great distance and through an unsharp lens. For Gandhāra and India see Henkelman 2017a: 208–10, for the island satrapy and Kermān see *ibid.* 52–3 n. 8, for Hyrcania and Parthia see Henkelman n.d. 3. For the pertinent Graeco-Roman sources and the satrapal network under Darius III see Jacobs 1994, Jacobs 2006; compare also Jacobs 2017b on the relation between the list of nations/lands in the royal inscriptions and the ethnonyms attested in the Fortification archive.

³⁸ Skudrians heading to Tamukkan: PF 1363, PF 2055, PFa 18. For Tamukkan see §3 with references mentioned in n. 21 above. An individual or (more likely) a group travelling from Drangiana to Media is found in fragmentary journal entry Fort. 1900-005:23"–24".

Arguably the most impressive illustration of interregional coordination is the case of Kermān and Pārsa. At an earlier stage of research it had already become clear that Kermān's satrap, Karkiš, had direct ties to Paišiyāuvādā/Naširma(nnu), by all indications an important administrative and military centre in south-eastern Pārsa. While moving through Pārsa he enjoyed the privileges attached to his status, such as organizing a 'satrapal table'. Also, he appears to have contributed to the king's dinner, presumably in an symbolic act of obeisance. Most important, Karkiš is regularly accompanied by very large groups of *taššup*, 'people, troops'. Like its Old Persian equivalent *kāra*-, the word primarily appears to denote a social class, that of the free and able-bodied shareholders, and can therefore occur in military and non-military contexts. The movements of larger groups of *taššup* and their consumption of rare meat rations make it likely that they were actually armed troops. This is particularly attractive for *taššup* qualified as *hallinup*, which can tentatively be interpreted as either 'foot-men' or 'rural (troops)'. With *taššup hallinup* Karkiš is found *en route* from Sagartia to his home satrapy of Kermān. New analysis of the texts on Sagartia has shown that this area cannot have been centred on Arbela or have been located in western Media, as used to be thought, but must be sought in central Iran, roughly between Pārsa and Media and east of the central Zagros chain (as also indicated by Ptolemy *Geography* 6.2.6). Its proximity to Pārsa and to Kermān explains why Karkiš is several times associated with Sagartia: his duties must have been part of an intricate strategic scheme designed to protect the heartland's eastern frontiers. In all of this, there is little doubt about the internal coherence of the Karkiš dossier: the Karkiš travelling with troops is sometimes called 'the Kermāni', the troops are sometimes qualified as being from Paišiyāuvādā/Naširma(nnu) in south-eastern Pārsa, and the same seal, PFS 0233, is used in travel contexts and when Karkiš organizes his satrapal table. This seal must, incidentally, have been Karkiš's satrapal seal (see below, pp. 245–7).³⁹

³⁹ On Karkiš, his table, and his duties in Pārsa see Henkelman 2010: 704–13, Henkelman 2017a: 49–54. For the inclusion of Kermān in the sphere of Pārsa see also Jacobs 1994: 197–8, 200 and Jacobs 2006: §1.1. A series of newly edited Fortification texts shows that one could travel from Sagartia, via Pārsa, to Kermān and vice versa (NN 2261:16–18, 26–9, Fort. 0472-101:20–2, Fort. 11811:01–03, 04–06); that one could travel from Sagartia, via Pārsa, to Elam (NN 2040:04–06); that travellers to/from Sagartia often receive their provisions in way stations along the road to Media. Together, this evidence leaves little doubt about the position of Sagartia in central Iran. See discussion in Henkelman n.d. 3, where it is additionally suggested that a place called Šurauša/Šaušša (and perhaps Šaušaka) may have been the administrative centre of Sagartia. For the occurrences, status, and activities of *taššup* see Schmitt 1986, Briant 2002: 103–4, 896–7, Tuplin 2008: 369–71, Henkelman 2017c: 322, and Henkelman 2018b: 242 with n. 76. The word *hallinup* is structurally similar to *telnup*, 'riders', lit. 'mounted people', and may have formed a pair with it. In this analysis, *hallinup* would literally mean 'those dependent on land, earth', which would make *taššup hallinup* either 'free men, working on land' (i.e. farmers, free shareholders) or 'troops, foot-men' (see Henkelman 2010: 706–7 with n. 150, Henkelman 2018b: 228–9, Henkelman n.d. 3). Alternatively, one may consider derivation from *hallin*, 'countryside, hinterland', hence 'rural troops' (lit. 'troops connected to the countryside'; so Stolper 2017a: 780–1).

As it turns out, the case of Karkiš is not isolated. A single text, PF 1438, allows for the identification of a certain Harbamišša as satrap of Areia. This is the only case where a travel authorization from Harbamišša is attested. An individual of the same name occurs a number of times, however, while traveling with a large number of *taššup hallinup*:

⁰¹⁻⁰² 10,500⁺ l. flour, ⁰²⁻⁰³ allocation from Bakaubeša, ⁰³⁻⁰⁷ Kammadda, Harbamišša, and Kauka received. ⁰⁸⁻¹⁰ *taššup hallinup* consumed it.⁴⁰

(memorandum NN 1154; seals: PFS 1480
and PFS 2631; undated)

⁰¹⁻⁰² 3,900 l. flour, ⁰³⁻⁰⁴ allocation from Datukka ⁰⁴⁻⁰⁵ (at) Anturma, ⁰⁵⁻⁰⁷ Harbamišša received. ⁰⁷⁻¹⁰ *taššup hallinup* consumed it.

(memorandum PF 1603; seal: PFS 1480; undated)

⁰¹ 7,570 l. [flour?] Harbamišša received; ⁰¹⁻⁰² he gave it to *hallinup*; ⁰² they went to Bactria.⁴¹

(journal entry Fort. 0517–002:01–02; journal date: Dar.22 = 500–499)

The amounts given in these texts indicate very large groups consisting of thousands of men (consuming 1.5 or 2 l. during a single day). These men were eating their meal in a place near Tirazziš/Širāz (NN 1154), in the Kāmfirūz region (PF 1603), and somewhere along the road to Media (Fort. 0517–002:01–02).⁴² In view of the analogy with the case of Karkiš, it may be surmised that the Harbamišša leading these contingents was the same as the satrap of Areia, that the duties linked to his office included military manoeuvres not only in central Pārsa but also in Bactria, on the other side of his home satrapy. His dossier can be further extended by pointing to Harmamithres (Ἀρμαμίθρης), a son of Datis and one of the hyparchs of Xerxes' army in 480 (Herodotus 7.88.1).

⁴⁰ The amount of flour issued is 1 ŠI 50(+)[x] ʾBARʾ 5 QA. The interpretation as '10,500⁺ l.' is conservative in the sense that it assumes that the overall measure is in BAR. This is what one would expect in a regular memorandum. Note, however, that the explicit mention of BAR could indicate that the preceding amount is in *irtiba* (*artaba*); the parallel text, PF 1603 (above), actually does use the *irtiba* measure even though it is a memorandum. If NN 1154 is likewise in *irtiba* measure, the total amount is 1,050 (*irtiba*) + x BAR + 5 QA = 31,505 l.

⁴¹ In a previous discussion of this text in Henkelman 2018b: 228 the total amount is erroneously rendered as 2,541 l.; the correct reading is 254 (*irtiba*; 7620 l.) + 1 BAR = 7,630 l.

⁴² The supplier of the flour provisions in NN 1154, Bakaubeša, does not occur elsewhere, but the supplier seal, PFS 2631, does. It connects to Rutinuzzana (NN 0264), which in turn is connected to Kursamuš in the area of Tirazziš/Širāz (Henkelman 2008a: 488). The supplier mentioned in PF 1603, Datukka, recurs in connection with Kurra in the central Kāmfirūz region (NN 0466; *ibid.* 118, 504 n. 1176). Journal Fort. 0517–002 is fragmentary and it is unclear whether the place Dazzarakka mentioned towards its end (line 21) is where the provisions were issued or a nearby place from which commodities were transported to/from the central storage. In any case, Dazzarakka can be located in the 'northern cluster' along the road to Media (*ibid.* 414–15, 426 n. 980).

If the travelling Harbamišša is indeed the same as the satrap then his seal, PFS 1480, is another satrapal seal, alongside those of Karkiš, Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Ašbazana, and, of course, Aršāma (see below, pp. 224–53).

6. CONCLUSION: TADAE A6.9 AS A TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION

The interpretation of A6.9, Aršāma's letter-order on behalf of Nakhthor, as an official travel authorization, hence comparable to what the Persepolis Fortification archive would call a *halmi* or *miyatukkaš*, has long been common, but has become increasingly controversial in recent contributions.⁴³ The two main reasons for this are the mention of Aršāma's house or domain (*byt*, line 2) and the observation, not necessarily valid, that the toponyms mentioned do not cover the entire route until Egypt. In this, the ambiguity of *pqydyn*—steward or administrator—as well as the wide range of *byt*—‘house’ as a collective term for Aršāma's assets (the satrapal domain) or as a reference to actual landed estates—play a role. The two issues underlying these problems of interpretation recur in many debates on Achaemenid administration: the demarcation of public and private spheres and the question of bureaucratic standard vs. scribal pragmatism. The first of these cannot be addressed here, but the second will briefly be explored.

An evaluation of A6.9 from a Persepolitan perspective should start, however, from an important practical issue. On analogy with the Elamite texts, one cannot but assume that the servants in Nakhthor's company travelled on foot. It may be remembered that their ration of one measure/day was exactly what one would expect for common servants or travel aides (*libap*, *puhu*; cf. §1). The unspecified (and varying) number of horses in A6.9 were probably intended only for Nakhthor himself and for carrying supplies, personal belongings, and whatever items Aršāma had wished to send with Nakhthor. Consequently, the average distance covered per day would have been no more than 25 km. Assuming, by a conservative estimate, that the total distance was about 2,000 km, the journey would have taken some eighty days. If the *pqydyn* addressed in A6.9:1–2 were actual estate managers, the number of estates visited was only five or maximally seven. And since A6.9 strictly indicates that only one daily meal was to be enjoyed at each stop, we are led to assume that the document was good for only six or eight days out of eighty. One might think of parallel estates owned by other noble Persians (as Dalley 2014: 176 does), of very large

⁴³ See Dalley 2014 and Tuplin i 154–63, the latter with full references.

estates, or of a series of estates coincidentally situated at convenient distances, but none of these options is particularly convincing.

Would Nakhthor and his company perhaps have acquired provisions for more than one day and carried these along until the next estate? That would, first of all, be a strategy strikingly absent from the instructions given by Aršāma. Secondly, it would mean transporting flour, wine or beer, fodder, and cheese/lambs for ten or fifteen days at the time. The volume of flour alone would have amounted to 180–270 litres. Not only would transporting such an quantity be impractical and introduce a serious risk that the flour be spoiled, but the notion speaks against the entire travel file in the Fortification archive, where one-day provisions are the norm.

Tuplin, in his discussion of A6.9, considered embracing the notion that the document was valid only for the days Nakhthor halted at Aršāma's private estates; the rest of the route would have been covered by a genuine (and now lost) travel authorization of the *halmi* type. In that case, one wonders why Aršāma and his staff would go through the trouble of drafting two separate documents (1) if the first was only good for a fraction of duration of the journey, and (2) if Nakhthor used the state travel network anyhow.

It is true that the preserved fragments of satrapal archives—the Aršāma correspondence and the Aramaic documentation from Achaemenid Bactria—do not draw a clear line between matters that the modern observer would define as either private or public. The fact that A6.9 has a formal colophon mentioning staff elsewhere involved in official ('public') matters is therefore not decisive. Having said this, the document does have a number of features that strike one as rather formal. The ration scales appear to adhere to a general standard; the provision that the travellers are not to be fed more than one day in the same place makes a lot of sense in a state system, but it would sound a bit cold in an enclosed situation where Nakhthor dines with people of equal or lower status within the overall domain of his master. A similar observations holds true for the stipulation that rations are to be issued 'day by day', which cannot work with estates, but which perfectly evokes the basic idea underlying the road system, i.e. having way stations at about one day's distance from each other.⁴⁴

A further formal stipulation by Aršāma's staff is about the variation and equivalence of wine and beer rations. Though it is conceivable that some of Aršāma's estates produced beer and others wine, the remark reverberates with the world of the Fortification archive, which oversaw a territory divided into a wine area (Persepolis and Kāmfirūz regions) and a beer area (the larger part of

⁴⁴ When Aršāma's staff say that rations are to be issued 'in accordance with the route, which is from province to province, until he shall reach Egypt', they may actually be referencing way stations if the word used for 'route', *dwn*, indeed carries the sense of 'station, halting place' (cf., similarly, A6.9:5(2) n.).

the Fahliyān area in the west). Take, for example, the following texts on a traveling miller and barley roaster called Yaunaparza:

⁰¹ 12 men ^{02–04} of (i.e. including) Yaunaparza the miller, ^{04–05} received 6 l. wine as rations ^{06–07} (in accordance with) a travel authorization from Parnakka. ^{07–08} Allocation from Hašina.

(memorandum PF 1549; seals: PFS 0250, PFS 1440; undated)

⁰¹ 6 l. beer: ^{01–02} (by a man) named Yaunaparza ^{02–03} (and by) his 11 companions ^{03–04} 0.5 (l.) each was received. ^{04–06} He (Y.) carried (showed) a sealed document (travel authorization) from Parnakka. ^{06–07} (They are) roasted barley makers. ^{08–10} Ninth (Elamite) month, 22nd year (Nov.–Dec. 500)

(memorandum NN 2504; seals: PFS 0010; PFS 1440)

Whereas the recipient seal (PFS 1440) guarantees that the same Yaunaparza is referred to, the supplier seals (PFS 0250 and PFS 0010) point to travel stops at Hatarrikaš in the central Kāmfirūz region and in the Zagros foothills area on the eastern edge of Khūzestān.⁴⁵ The former was the middle of the wine-growing region, the latter pure beer territory on account of the much warmer and more arid climate. The Achaemenid state had imposed an equivalence between (cereal) beer and wine and, as appears from the above texts, prescribed liquid rations could be paid in either. Yaunaparza's *halmi*, like A6.9, must have prescribed a fixed daily quantity in beer *or* wine. This equivalence, however, was artificial from a market perspective and probably functioned only within the state-controlled sphere.

Aršāma's letter-order for Nakht̥hor twice mentions provinces: once in the phrase 'give [him ra]tions from my house/domain in your provinces' (A6.9:3) and once in the stipulation that the Nakht̥hor will receive his rations from official to official, 'in accordance with the route which is from province to province, until he shall reach Egypt' (A6.9:5, trans. D.Taylor). As Tuplin agrees (i 155), the mention of provinces suggests a state context much more than one within the domain of Aršāma. The insistence that Nakht̥hor be fed until the route he will take brings him to Egypt is equally important and seems to be at odds with the idea of incidental meals at Aršāma's dispersed estates.

⁴⁵ PFS 0250 belonged to the wine supplier Hašina (see e.g. PF 1548, NN 0588, NN 0937), who appears to have been based at Hatarrikaš (NN 2532) or a nearby place in Kāmfirūz region (Henkelman 2008a: 507–8). PFS 0010 can be connected to the western part of the Fahliyān region (cf. n. 21 above), which probably coincides with the Zagros foothills to the north of Behbahān. For cereal-based beer in the Fortification archive see Henkelman 2010: 750–3. In PF 1549, Yaunaparza is designated *pi-iš-da-kur-ra* (not *na-pi-is-da-kur-ra*, as Hallock 1969: 433), Elamograph of **pistakara-*, 'flour maker, miller' (Tavernier 2007: 429 (4.4.7.89)). Comparison between the two cited texts shows, once again, that non-essential information is quite variable in the travel texts.

The solution to the problem of A6.9 lies probably on two different levels. The first touches upon the issue already mentioned, the balance between bureaucratic standard and scribal pragmatism. As the example of Hindukka (§3) has demonstrated, certain core data are fairly consistent in travel texts in the Fortification archive. These are the kind and quantity of the commodity issued and the identity of the authority that signed for the travel (mostly by reference to a *halmi*, sometimes by reference to his satrapy, and sometimes by both). The travel texts do, however, also provide a wealth of secondary and much less consistent information, such as the designation of the travellers, what they are transporting, the fact that the main recipient is a travel guide, and so forth. In evaluating such additional elements, we must resist the notion that way station scribes regularly received information from a chatty *puhu* or eavesdropped on the travel company's dinner. Rather, one must assume that the secondary data, too, was excerpted from travel authorizations. The only difference is that including the core data was standard protocol, while adding other details could be useful but was basically at the discretion of the scribe. Thus, one scribe noted that Hindukka's company was transporting tribute, another that the hundred servants/aides were associated with Bagiya, and a third thought it useful to mention that the group was not only heading to Susa, but more specifically to the king. All this information must have been included in the *halmi* that Karkiš, satrap of Kermān, had issued for Hindukka, but not all of it was vital for bureaucratic process.

Based on such dossiers as that of Hindukka it should be doubted that the original travel authorizations were rather curt (as Tuplin assumes: i 155). They may have been fairly detailed and hence not so different from A6.9. It would not be surprising if they mentioned not only the travel destination but also indicated the route to be taken, especially if there were multiple possibilities. In this respect it deserves emphasis that travel authorizations were not so much service documents, or not that alone, but also essential parts of a system designed to manage and control the circulation of travellers on the royal roads, in the same way that the organization behind the Persepolis Fortification archive monitored the circulation of commodities.

In comparison with the mundane receipts for travel provisions in the Fortification archive, the original travel authorizations belonged to a much loftier sphere. These records emanated from the highest echelons in Achaemenid administration and may be expected to have adhered to high standards. Nevertheless, we should probably not expect them to be completely systematic in the sense that they would mention every possible element. What mattered was, first and foremost, the seal attached to the authorization (cf. §2). Other standard elements must have been (1) identification of the traveller and mention of his ration level and (2) the destination and the route to be taken. Phrases about the limit of one allocation per way station and the equivalence of wine/beer may have been commonplace but were strictly speaking not essential as

they referred to standing practice. Yet other elements may have varied from case to case.

The ration scales are listed in minute detail in Aršāma's letter-order for Nakthor, but what about the route to be taken? It is clear that the first half of the journey is described in more detail than the second, for which only two places are mentioned. It would, however, in conjunction with the twice mentioned destination (Egypt), probably have sufficed to indicate the exact route in an unambiguous way.

In the final reckoning the question should perhaps not be whether TADAE A6.9 was a *halmi*, but rather what *kind* of *halmi* it was. It has long been recognized that there were travel authorizations for single and for return trips, but there may have been an additional difference in main and subsidiary authorizations.⁴⁶ This suspicion rests on the very common phenomenon of renewal of travel documentation. An example is the group of Cilician women (^{SAL}uk-ku ^{HAL}ki-li-ik-ka₄-^rip⁷) said to have travelled from Media to Pārsa and to have carried a travel authorization from Mitarna, the satrap in Media (Fort. 1993–102:15'–16'). Naturally, one could argue that the Cilicians had previously been based in Media and for that reason do not carry a travel authorization from the satrap of their home satrapy. The phenomenon is much too widespread, however, to be explained solely in this way. Moreover, the origin of the travellers is sometimes made explicit, as in the following case:

⁰¹ 137 l. flour ^{02–03} (a man) by the name of Ammamarda and (and another named) Baramara⁷ received. ^{03–04} 92 men from Lydia, ^{04–05} whom they escorted, ^{05–07} each received 1.5 l. per day; ^{07–09} 2 men, as rations, received 1 l. per day. ^{09–11} They went from Lydia to Parnakka. ^{11–12} They (A. and B.) carried (showed) a sealed document (travel authorization) from Bakabana. ^{13–15} Tenth month, 23rd year (Jan. 498). ¹⁵ 1 (single) ration.

(memorandum NN 0901; seals: PFS 0095; PFS 0192s)

The Lydians in this text must have had a travel authorization from Irdapirna/ Artaphernes, presumably issued to them in Sardis. This starting point was known to the scribe, who mentioned it emphatically. Yet, the authorization they showed at the way station was issued by Bakabana, satrap in Elam. One possible explanation is that Bakabana had taken the earlier authorization and *replaced* it. It seems likelier, however, that he simply issued a subsidiary

⁴⁶ PF 2056 provides a good example of a return *halmi*. In it, a group of 588 men, 18 horses, and 100 mules are said to be heading from Areia to Susa. They carry a *halmi* from the king. This does not indicate the presence of Darius in Areia (as Giovinnazzo 1994: 41–3 assumed), but rather that the assignment of the caravan was important enough to be arranged for centrally. Contrast PF 1438, in which a single person receives rations for his journey from Areia to the king. This person, Bakabada, carries a *halmi* from Harbamišša, the satrap in Areia (cf. §5). On circular or return authorizations see Lewis 1980: 195, Tuplin 1998: 80–1, Briant 2012: 192, Henkelman 2018b: 227 n. 20. On super-authorizations vs. subsidiary authorizations see also Henkelman and Jacobs n.d.

document, detailing the last stretch of the route. The same may have happened to Nakhtḥor once he reached Damascus. The purpose of the main authorization (or ‘super-*halmi*’) perhaps was not to exhaustively list all administrative subdivisions to be crossed, but rather to exclude ambiguity about the route taken and to offer sufficient indication for the traveller as to where to obtain subsidiary authorizations.

If travel authorizations of different status were issued for one and the same travel company it would also help to understand another thorny problem: that of the possible loss of travel documents. That this danger was very real is shown by the following text:

⁰¹ 90 l. flour ^{02–03} (a man) named Tamšakana received: ^{03–05} 20 free men (*šalup*) each received 1.5 l.; ^{05–06} 60 servants (*puhu*) each received 1 l. ⁰⁷ in accordance with a travel authorization (*halmi*) from the king. ⁰⁸ They went to Susa. ⁰⁸ Third (Elamite) month. ⁰⁹ The previous/first travel authorization (*halmi*) was lost on the road.⁴⁷

(memorandum NN 1465; seals: PFS 0104; PFS 2983s)

What is made clear here is that accidents could happen but also, implicitly, that things could be mended: Tamšakana and his group of eighty did receive their provisions after all. Was this upon oral confirmation or because only *one* of their documents (the ‘previous’ or ‘first’) had been lost?

⁴⁷ Line 9, continuing on the right margin of the reverse, reads *hal-ṛ miṛṇ ap-ṛ puṇ-ka₄-na pi-ti-ik* ^{AS}KASKAL^{MES}-*na*. All signs are clear except *-ṛ miṛṇ* in *hal-ṛ miṛṇ*, which Richard Hallock (ms.) read as *ṛ māṛṇ*; there is no doubt, however, that the word *halmi/halmu* is meant. For *pitik* compare the discussion on *pitika* in n. 9 above. A Tamšakama, perhaps the same, occurs in NN 1657, as a Parthian spear-bearer under the command of Xerxes (see Henkelman 2002: 24, Henkelman 2011d).

Appendix: Seals Associated with Satraps and Satrap-Level Administrators

Mark B. Garrison

INTRODUCTION

Of the over thirty individuals who issue *halmis* in the travel texts, we have securely identified the seals of only four: Parnakka (PFS 0009* (Figs. 5.1–5.2) and PFS 0016* (Figs. 2.4–2.5)), Ziššawiš (PFS 0083* (Figs. 2.22–2.23) and PFS 0011* (Figs. 2.82–2.83)), Ašbazana (PFS 1567* (Figs. 2.64–2.65) and PTS 14* (Figs. 5.7–5.8)), and Karkiš (PFS 0233 (Figs. 5.9–5.10)). A fifth individual, Harbamišša, can be linked with PFS 1480. Although the seal attribution is tentative in this last instance, we include it in this appendix.

Parnakka and Ziššawiš, of course, play critical roles in the daily operations of the Persepolis institution, Parnakka as the director, Ziššawiš as the deputy-director. As important administrators, they are deeply embedded within the structural operations of the institution and are named frequently on many different types of Elamite transactions. Their seals exhibit specific patterns of usages; generally their seals appear on a more narrow range of transaction types than those in which they are named.⁴⁸ Their seals occur, however, very commonly within the archive; indeed, the first seal of Parnakka, PFS 0009*, is among the five most commonly occurring seals in the archive.⁴⁹ The two seals always are used in the single-seal protocol.

Ašbazana, with Kambarma and Irdumartiya, are perhaps the most socially significant individuals outside of the immediate royal family to appear in the Fortification archive.⁵⁰ In addition to the travel rations for which he issues a *halmi* in year 28 (494/3) (Fort. 1217-102, 2054-102, 2148-108, NN 0456, 1673, 2082, and PF 1444), Ašbazana is named as a *šaramanna* official (PF 0565),

⁴⁸ That is, these administrators actually apply their seals on a limited range of transactions, while they are named in a wide variety of transactions.

⁴⁹ To date, PFS 0009* occurs on 104 tablets. Seals for which we have more attestations include: PFS 0001* (181 tablets), PFS 0075 (148 tablets), PFS 0048 (118 tablets), and PFS 0004* (113 tablets). Counting both of the seals of Parnakka, PFS 0009* and PFS 0016*, his seals occur on 167 tablets. Counting both of the seals of Ziššawiš, PFS 0083* (22 tablets) and PFS 0011* (71 tablets), his seals occur on 93 tablets.

⁵⁰ On Ašbazana, see Garrison 1998, Henkelman 2003: 123–8.

⁵¹ Note also now Fort. 1270-101+1348-103, a fragmentary and unusual text that mentions a command by Ašbazana and a remarkable date, 20/II/35, 17 May 487 (Stolper n.d.). Other possible attestations of Ašbazana are PF 0806, in which Ašbazana receives a large allocation of cereal product in year 28, and NN 1023 and Fort. 7093, probable travel rations in which Ašbazana receives a modest allocation of beer and oil for six men, undated.

receives enormous daily payment rations (NN 1359, NN 2401), and issues a letter-order (PF 1853), all in year 28.⁵¹ Henkelman and others have determined that Ašbazana replaced Parnakka as the director of the institution in month four of year 28 (July/August 494).⁵² He is unattested in the archive until year 28. His seal, PFS 1567*, appears on only four documents, three payment rations, Fort. 1392–103, NN 1359, NN 2401, and one letter-order, PF 1853, always in the single-seal protocol.⁵³

Since he was satrap of Kermān, we would normally not expect to encounter the seal of Karkiš within the Fortification archive. He turns up, however, in one document, NN 0306, authorizing provisioning for his Table (like the king, Irtašduna, and Irdabama).⁵⁴ This document would seem to indicate that he made at least one trip into Fārs.⁵⁵ These documents that pertain to the provisioning of individual Tables (Hallock's J texts), when they concern Irtašduna, Irdabama, or Karkiš, are always sealed by the seal belonging to the individual. In the case of NN 0306, the seal is PFS 0233, which, we may assume, is the seal that represents Karkiš the satrap. PFS 0233 occurs also on four other texts that concern provisioning of large quantities of flour or wine to Karkiš and his *taššup* ('soldiers, people').⁵⁶ As noted above, Henkelman concludes that these documents record a trip where Karkiš and his *taššup* are journeying from Media to Persepolis, involving a stay at Parmadan in the Fahliyān region.⁵⁷ The seal representing Karkiš, PFS 0233, always occurs in the single-seal protocol and is always applied to multiple surfaces of a tablet.

A similar situation applies to Harbamišša, the satrap of Areia. Only one travel ration, PF 1438, names him issuing a travel *halmi*. As Henkelman suggests above (p. 217), the same individual may appear in two other texts, NN 1154 and PF 1603. The former is a huge allocation of flour for Harbamišša, Kauka, and *taššup* ('soldiers'). The latter is also a substantial allocation of flour for Harbamišša and *taššup*. Neither text is dated, but one assumes that the two allocations are for one and the same group and trip. Both texts are sealed by PFS 1480. As with the satrap Karkiš, apparently Harbamišša

⁵² Henkelman 2003: 123–4 with n. 27, Henkelman 2008a: 127 n. 283, Henkelman n.d. 3. The critical document is the letter-order PF 1853, which allows us to attribute PFS 1567* to Ašbazana without qualification.

⁵³ For the sake of convenience, we include in the catalogue that follows the second seal of Ašbazana, PTS 14*, which occurs only in the Treasury archive on five letter-orders for which he is the addressor, PT 12, PT 12a, PT 12b (presumably, only a few lines of the text are preserved), PT 14 and PT 4 742 (presumably, Schmidt 1957: 24 simply notes that this object is a fragment of a clay tablet on which PTS 14* occurs; Cameron did not include it in any of his publications of Treasury texts) (Garrison 1998). The seal always occurs in the single-seal protocol.

⁵⁴ Henkelman 2010: 704–13.

⁵⁵ It is undated, as are all documents that carry the seal of Karkiš, PFS 0233.

⁵⁶ PF 0329 specifies *taššup Bešiyamatiya* ('Paišiyāuvādā-soldiers/people'); see Henkelman 2010: 707–8 and Garrison & Henkelman ii 62 (with n. 23).

⁵⁷ On the full dossier of Karkiš the satrap, see Henkelman 2010: 704–13.

and the soldiers under his charge travelled through Fārs at some point and were thus captured in the Persepolis institutional records.

The seals linked with Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Ašbazana, Karkiš, and Harbamišša represent imagery associated with a particularly distinctive group: individuals who have the authority to issue *halmi* for travel rations. These individuals possess considerable administrative authority. In the case of Ašbazana and Parnakka, we know from other sources that they also represent the highest levels of the social elite. The seals belonging to these five individuals form yet another window into the relationship of imagery and socio-administrative power at the centre of the empire in the early Achaemenid period.⁵⁸

The seals of these individuals reflect several visual trends within the archive. Firstly, we see a preponderance of archaizing imagery rendered in various iterations of a modelled style of carving: PFS 0016*, PFS 0083*, PFS 1567*, and PFS 1480.⁵⁹ The imagery and style are direct inheritances from Assyro-Babylonian glyptic. This type of imagery rendered in this particular stylistic idiom is commonly documented among seals used by individuals of the very highest administrative rank and/or social status (see also Garrison & Henkelman ii 133–7). Garrison (2017a: 518, 548–9, 552, 570) has suggested identifying this phenomenon as an ‘Achaemenid Imperial Modeled Style’. One assumes that the style originated in Persepolis.⁶⁰

PFS 0011* and PTS 14* illustrate the more well-known expression of Achaemenid imperial art in glyptic, what has traditionally been called the Court Style.⁶¹ Both seals are rendered in a richly modelled version of the Court Style. PFS 0011* is an exceptionally important seal; with PFS 0007*, they are the earliest attested examples of the fully developed Court Style in Achaemenid art.⁶²

PFS 0009* and PFS 0233 reflect another phenomenon within the archive: archaizing imagery rendered in a restrained modelled style of carving. We have identified this style as a local one, the Fortification Style.⁶³

⁵⁸ For other attempts to track imagery and socio-administrative authority, see Garrison 1991, Garrison 1998, Garrison 2011a, Garrison 2014a, Garrison 2014b, Garrison 2017c: 333–86, Garrison and Henkelman 2020: 259–61.

⁵⁹ The carving on PFS 0083* is more restrained, hence our attribution to what we have called Mixed Styles I.

⁶⁰ See Garrison 2017a: 518, 548–9, 552, 570.

⁶¹ Garrison (2017c: 341, 351–3, 368, 371–3) discusses the Court Style in more detail.

⁶² On the implications of the appearance of the Court Style in glyptic in the late sixth century at Persepolis, see Garrison & Henkelman ii 135–6, Garrison 2014a, Garrison 2014b, Garrison 2017c: 341, 351–3, 368, 371–3.

⁶³ See Garrison and Root 2001: 18. This is not to say that all seals executed in the Fortification Style exhibit the same degree of archaizing imagery as PFS 0009*. Indeed, the range of imagery and iconography within the Fortification Style is exceptionally broad; for example, some seals executed in the Fortification Style employ Achaemenid court-centric iconography (such as the Persian court robe).

It would be of some considerable interest in another venue to consider the seals of these five individuals alongside the seals associated with individuals who issue *halmi* or give orders (*šerašda*) in other, non-travel, contexts (see Garrison and Henkelman ii 129–37). To no surprise, the latter are also of considerable socio-administrative authority and include, among others: Iršama, the son of Darius and Irtašduna, using PFS 2899* (Aršama 1: Figs. 1.1, 1.4, 1.9, 1.14, 1.25–1.26, 1.31, 1.36, 1.41–1.42, 2.84–2.85, Pls. 1–9); Abbataya, a high-profile *šaramanna* official, using PFS 1566* and PFS 0098*; Harrena, the *kasabattiš* ('cattle chief'), using PFS 1568* (Figs. 2.66–2.67); Hiumizza, a *šaramanna* official and *aššabattiš* ('horse master'), using PFS 0124*; Iršena, a very influential *šaramanna* and *damanna* official, also a *kurdabattiš* ('chief of workers') and regional director sealing with PFS 0004* (as regional director) and PFS 0981* (personal seal);⁶⁴ Rašda, a frequently named *šaramanna* official, who is closely tied to the bureau of the royal woman Irdabama and appears to use the magnificent heirloom seal PFS 0077* (Figs. 2.75–2.79) under her jurisdiction;⁶⁵ Šuddayauda, another influential *šaramanna* and *damanna* official, also a *kurdabattiš* ('chief of workers'), sealing with his personal seal PFS 0032* and, as regional director, with PFS 0001*; Uštana, another frequently named *šaramanna* official, who is linked with PFS 0043* and PFS 0045*.

The catalogue that follows employs a slightly modified format of that found in Garrison and Root 2001.⁶⁶ In the case of seals published there (PFS 0009*, PFS 0016*, PFS 0233, and PFS 1480) the descriptions are little changed with the exception of PFS 1480, for which we now have almost the complete design. For the commentaries on the inscription, seal usage, and iconography and style, we do not repeat analyses given in Garrison and Root 2001.

The earliest usage date of one seal published in OIP 117, PFS 0009*, has changed owing to information from unpublished NN and Fort. texts.

For all seals published in Garrison and Root 2001, we have updated the bibliographic citations.

The catalogue is organized by individual, firstly those entrenched in the Persepolitan administration, Parnakka (PFS 0009* and PFS 0016*), Ziššawiš (PFS 0083* and PFS 0011*), and Ašbazana (PFS 1567* and PTS 0014*), followed by the satraps Karkiš (PFS 0233) and Harbamišša (PFS 1480).

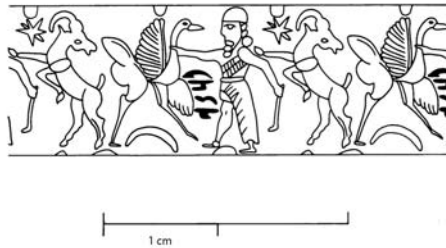
⁶⁴ To Iršena we ought to attribute also PFS 0075, perhaps a seal representing his authority at a specific location wherein he sets ration allocations for workers (Garrison 2017c: 223–4). It has recently been determined that the Aramaic inscription on PFS 0981* reads: *ʾršy nʾ krkyš gnzbr [...]* *yb [...]* *y*, 'Iršena, (son of?) Karkiš, treasurer, . . .' The seal will be the focus of a future study by Garrison, A. Azzoni, and C. Chandler. We thank A. Azzoni for the reading.

⁶⁵ Garrison 2011a: 383–7 and Garrison and Henkelman ii 132. There are several other seals that may be linked with Rašda (e.g. PFS 0036*).

⁶⁶ Cat. no. indicates the catalogue number in Garrison and Root 2001.

CATALOGUE

1. Parnakka: PFS 0009* and PFS 0016*

1.1. PFS 0009* (*cat. no. 288*)

5.1. Collated line drawing of PFS 0009*.

Seal Type: Cylinder

Earliest Dated Application: 506/5

Language of Inscription: Aramaic

Preserved Height of Image: 1.30 cm (comp.)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.30 cm

Number of Impressions: 318+⁶⁷

Completeness of Image: complete

Photograph: Fig. 5.2

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.10 cm (comp.)

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.70 cm

Quality of Impressions: fair-excellent

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Hero confronts ostrich; rampant caprid in terminal field. Inverted crescent below ostrich, star in upper field between hero and caprid. Inscription is in middle field between hero and ostrich.

Hero faces left in striding pose, extending straight right arm outwards to grasp marchant ostrich by throat; left arm is bent and held down behind body to hold weapon with bent end (perhaps scimitar or throw stick). Wears belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee; two diagonal bands are indicated on chest; fringe is indicated along forward edge of lower part of garment over rear leg. Perhaps wears domed headdress. Long rounded segmented beard rests along hero's chest; rounded, segmented coiffure at back of neck.

Ostrich moves towards and faces hero. Ostrich extends one wing vertically upwards above its body, other diagonally downwards under its body; plume-shaped tail extends diagonally upwards.

⁶⁷ There is one tablet that I have not seen in Tehran.



5.2. Impression of PFS 0009* on left edge of PF 1801.

In terminal field, rampant caprid moves towards hero but turns its head away from him. Holds upper foreleg straight and extends it towards hero's shoulder; lower foreleg is bent and extended downwards in front of body; short tail curves upwards. Large curved horn emerges from front of its head; small pointed ear is at back of head; short beard is indicated.

Star is in upper terminal field between hero and caprid.

Inverted crescent is below ostrich.

Inscription is in middle field between hero and ostrich.

Edge of seal is preserved at top and bottom of design. Three chips appear along bottom edge of seal; two chips are along top edge.

Inscription

Aramaic

(01) *prnk*

Translation: 'Parnakka'

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFS 0009* occurs to date on some 104 Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol. The transactions include deposits of commodities and accounting of deposits, payment rations, a few allocations of animals for religious ceremonies, a few ration allocations for *puhu* ('pages') of Parnakka (see Henkelman 2008a: 273), and letter-orders.

As is well known, this is Parnakka's first seal. Two texts, PF 2067 and PF 2068, sealed by Parnakka's second seal, PFS 0016*, state emphatically that 'the seal (*halmi*) that previously (was) mine, that is lost (*pitika*)' (see above, p. 196). Both texts are dated 6 June 500. The latest dated attestation of PFS 0009* is in month 3 of year 22, that is, May/June 500. Thus, for all intents and purposes, PFS 0016* instantaneously replaces PFS 0009*.

PFS 0009* occurs within the archive between 506/5 and May/June 500. The earliest dated attestation of Parnakka in the archive is year 15 (507/6). In this regard, NN 2164 is a curious text. It is a payment ration for Parnakka

dated to year 15 (507/6), thus the earliest mention of him. The tablet appears to carry two seals, PFS 2056 on the reverse and PFS 2057 on the upper and left edges. PFS 2057 is poorly preserved, just the body of a winged creature. PFS 2056 is partially preserved: a hero wearing a dentate crown and Persian court robe stabs a rampant lion; behind him there are two rampant animals, one a caprid, as if in an animal file. Neither seal is PFS 0009*, which is applied to all other payment rations for Parnakka (predating the appearance of PFS 0016*, which then occurs on his payment rations). Does the early date of the text combined with the unusual seals indicate that Parnakka had not yet started using PFS 0009*? The broad dating of both NN 2164, the first mention of Parnakka, and NN 0102, the earliest appearance of PFS 0009*, to a year, years 17 (507/6) and 16 (506/5) respectively, means that we cannot document any gap between the first appearance of Parnakka in text and the first appearance of his seal. Henkelman (pers. comm.) notes that the text of NN 2164 is a bit unusual in mentioning *halmi makka-na Harbezza marriš* ('the *halmi* of what was consumed Harbezza took'). This may indicate that the regular sealed memorandum (*halmi*) was missing and that NN 2164 was a replacement.⁶⁸

The range of transactions associated with PFS 0009* is much broader than those associated with PFS 0016*. We are unsure of the significance of this phenomenon. It is possible that a substantial change in the nature of Parnakka's authority occurred in the period leading up to June 500 when he adopts his new seal PFS 0016*. This year, 500, falls also near the time when the royal-name seals PFS 0007* (year 19 = 503/2) and PFS 0011* (year 19), the latter the second seal of Ziššawiš, first appear in the archive.⁶⁹ The appearance of new seals for both the director and deputy-director and PFS 0007*, a royal-name seal, within a relatively short timeframe does not seem simply a coincidence.

Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

Most discussions of PFS 0009* have focused upon the Assyrianizing features of the imagery (e.g. Garrison and Root 2001: 405).

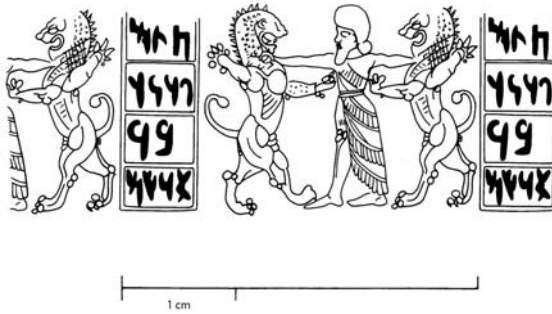
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cameron 1948: 53 (n. 51); Hinz 1971: 271, 302; Hallock 1977: 128–9, pl. E-6; Hallock 1978: 113; Boardman 1988: 35–7 (no. 35b); Garrison 1988: 241, 243, 262, 264–8, 271–2, 282, 525; Moorey 1988: 36–7, fig. 35b; Keel and Uehlinger 1990: fig. 118; Koch 1990, *passim*, but esp. pp. 224–7; Garrison 2000: 153–4; Root 1990a: 130–1; Garrison 1991: 8–9, figs. 9–10; Koch 1992: 26, 30–1, 33, 36–40, 61, 97, figs. 13, 16; Balcer 1993: 84; Lewis 1994: 29–30; Vallat 1994: 264–71, fig. 3; Brosius 1996: 145 (n. 55), 150 (table 6), 157 (table 8), 159; Garrison and Root 1996/98: 2, 12;

⁶⁸ Perhaps accounting for appearance of PFS 2056 and PFS 2057 where one would expect PFS 0009*.

⁶⁹ See the discussion in Garrison 2014b: 503–8.

Wiesehöfer 1996: pl. 13a; Dusinger 1997: 112, figs. 12–13; Root 1997: 234–5; Aperghis 1998: 57; Garrison 1998: 130; Aperghis 1999: 165; Garrison and Dion 1999: 10; Root 1999: 163, 179–80, 184, fig. 10; Dusinger 2000: 162; Gates 2002: 130 n.18; Abdi 2002: 140; Henkelman 2003: 110; Root 2003: 274 n. 48; Merrillees 2005: 20, 27, 28, 35; Garrison 2007: 8, 9; Kuhrt 2007: 782, fig. 16.3(a); Garrison 2008: 180; Henkelman 2008a: 132, 147, 407, 440, 547, 549, 550; Root 2008: 100, 104, figs. 15a–d; Garrison and Ritner 2010: 35; Henkelman 2010: 668, 670 n. 10; Henkelman 2011a: 15, 60, 66, 67, 68; Colburn 2014a: 788–91, figs. 5a–b; Colburn 2014b: 104; Colburn 2020: 63; Garrison 2014a: 87–8; Garrison 2014b: 496, 503–5, 506 n. 59, fig. 6; Samuels 2016: 12 and n. 37; Garrison 2017c: 32, 35, 37–8, 53, 63, 67, 81, 101, 109, 334–5, 366, 376, 378; Garrison 2018: 651–2, 653.

1.2. PFS 0016* (cat. no. 22)



5.3. Collated line drawing of PFS 0016*.

Seal Type: cylinder

Photograph: Fig. 2.5

Earliest Dated Application: 500

Style: Modeled Style

Language of Inscription: Aramaic

Preserved Height of Image: 1.90 cm (incomp.)

Preserved Length of Image: 3.10 cm (comp.)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.10 cm

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.00 cm

Number of Impressions: 134

Quality of Impressions: fair-excellent

Completeness of Image: complete except for top and bottom edges

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Hero controls two rampant lions; panelled inscription in terminal field.

Hero faces left, arms straight and extended at shoulder level to each side to hold two rampant lions by throat. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed, with fringe at hem of short undergarment visible on forward leg above knee; garment has fringe on chest and three swags of fringe on lower garment. Long rounded beard rests over hero's chest; round coiffure at back of neck.

Each lion holds one foreleg straight to place upturned paw at hero's chest; other foreleg is straight, held up diagonally and away from its body, toes splayed. Lion to left places paw of forward hind leg on hero's forward foot. Lions' tails curl upwards with tufted terminations. Manes are rendered by crisp serrated edge along contour of neck; mouths are open.

Panelled inscription is in terminal field.

Inscription

Aramaic

(01) *ḥtm*

(02) *prnk*

(03) *br*

(04) *'ršm*

Translation: 'Seal (of) Parnakka son of Aršam'

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFS 0016* occurs to date on some sixty-three Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol. The transactions include payment rations, a few ration allocations for *puhu* ('pages'), and letter-orders.

As noted above, the range of transactions on which PFS 0016* occurs is much more restricted in comparison to PFS 0009*. The six texts concerned with the *puhu* ('pages') of Parnakka appear to concern the same group (numbering 300); the texts date from month 3 year 22 through month 1 year 24. NN 1740, sealed with PFS 0009*, likewise deals with this group, in month 3 year 22, so just before Parnakka switched to PFS 0016*.

The last dated occurrence of PFS 0016*, Fort. 1045-010, is in month 4 year 25 (July/August 497). Curiously, the last dated attestation of Parnakka, NN 2512, is much later, month 7 year 28 (October/November 494); he issues a *halmi* for travel for Mikrašba, coming from Hyrcania on his way to Persepolis (see Henkelman n.d. 1).

Sealing protocols on the payment rations, large allocations of commodities paid out to a select few individuals, presumably as a form of compensation, vary. In most instances, such as the payments for Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Ašbazana, and Irdumartiya, the recipient seals the document with his personal seal in the single-seal protocol. In other instances, e.g. PF 0684 (the woman Radušdukyā), PF 0685 (Matiša), a supplier's seal is also required.

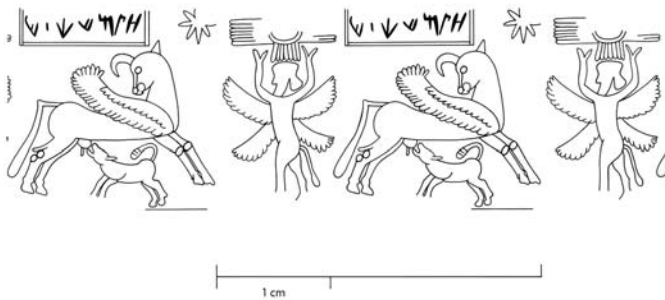
Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

As with PFS 0009*, most of the discussion of PFS 0016* centres upon the Assyrianizing features of the imagery (e.g. Garrison and Root 2001: 405; Garrison 2014b: 496–508).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cameron 1948: 53 (n. 52); Hinz 1971: 271, 302; Hallock 1977: 128–9, pl. E-7; Cook 1983: 89; Schmitt 1983: 76; Boardman 1988: 35–7, no. 35a; Garrison 1988: 201, 204, 217–23, 238, 249, 256, 361, 380–1, 400, 452, 478–9, 493, 521–2; Moorey 1988: 35–6, fig. 35a; Young 1988: 85; Koch 1990, *passim*, but esp. 224–7; Root 1990a: 130–1, fig. 14; Garrison 1991: 9–10, figs. 11–12; Root 1991: 22, fig. 9; Koch 1992: 26, 30–1, 33, 36–40, 61, 97; Balcer 1993: 84; Lewis 1994: 29–30; Root 1995: 2634, fig. 13; Garrison 1996a: 45, figs. 18–19; Garrison and Root 1996/98: 2, 18; Root 1996b: 16, figs. 1–2, 8–9; Root 1996c: 118; Stolper 1996: 521 n. 26; Dusinberre 1997: 112–13, figs. 14–15; Root 1997: 235; Vallat 1997: 173; Garrison 1998: 115, 130; Aperghis 1999: 164; Garrison and Dion 1999: 6–7, 9–10, 13, 16, fig. 4; Root 1999: 163, 172, 174, 179, fig. 4; Garrison 2000: 153–4; Merrilllees 2005: 20, 27, 28, 35, 64, 106; Garrison 2007: 8, 9; Kuhrt 2007: 782, fig. 16.3(b); Garrison 2008: 178–9; Henkelman 2008a: 96, 132, 147, 407, 527, 562, 563, fig. 2.9; Root 2008: 100, 104, figs. 16a–d; Garrison 2010a: 358 n. 50; Garrison 2010b: 167, fig. 10; Garrison and Ritner 2010: 35; Henkelman 2010: 670 n. 10; Basello 2012: 154; Garrison 2012b: 33–4; Colburn 2014a: 788–91, figs. 5a–b; Colburn 2014b: 104; Colburn 2020: 63; Garrison 2014a: 75–6 n. 51, 87–8; Garrison 2014b: 487 n. 13, 496, 500, 504–6, 508 n. 61, fig. 7; Samuels 2016: 12 and n. 37; Garrison 2017c: 32, 37–8, 53, 57, 67, 80, 101, 109, 111, 334–5, 341, 366, 376, 378, 385; Garrison 2018: 652–3, 655.

2. Ziššawiš: PFS 0083* and PFS 0011*

2.1. PFS 0083*



5.4. Collated line drawing of PFS 0083*.

Seal Type: cylinder⁷⁰

Earliest Dated Application: 507

Language of Inscription: Aramaic

Preserved Height of Image: 1.80 cm

Photograph: Fig. 2.23

Style: Mixed Styles I

Preserved Length of Image: 2.80 cm

⁷⁰ The drawing here published is a revised one that incorporates a few new figural details and letters in the inscription retrieved from recently studied impressions on unpublished tablets.

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.00 cm

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.90 cm

Number of Impressions: 45⁷¹

Quality of Impressions: fair-excellent

Completeness of Image: complete except for details along top and bottom edges

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Winged horned bovine nurses calf; star and winged bull-man supporting winged ring are in terminal field. Panelled inscription is in upper field above winged bovine.

Winged bovine moves to right, turning its head back to left. Forelegs are slightly bent, held together and extended forwards; hind legs are also held together. Wings have two rows of feathers. Horn is short and curves downwards from front of head. Single ear is indicated at top of its head. Tail extends out horizontally, then bends at sharp angle downwards, becoming thicker towards its termination. Below creature, small calf stands facing to left, reaching its mouth up to suck udder of winged bovine. One teat of udder is indicated. Calf apparently strides forwards. Short tail curls upwards.

At left, four-winged bull-man stands facing to left. Bull-man holds its bent arms up above its head, hands cupped upwards, to support winged ring with bird's tail (only tail, lowest part of ring, and parts of tips of wings are preserved). Bull-man has squared beard; mass of thick hair hangs down at back of its neck. Thin tail undulates downwards with tufted termination.

Star (upper right part not preserved) is in upper field to left of winged ring.

Panelled inscription (in Aramaic) is in upper field immediately above winged bovine.

Portion of edge of seal is preserved at bottom of design.

Inscription

Aramaic

(01) *ḥtm ššwʾš*

Translation: 'Seal (of) Ziššawiš'

The recent discovery of impressions of the seal which preserve the name of Ziššawiš after the *ḥtm*, while not surprising, is nonetheless quite interesting.⁷² Garrison (2017a: 341) provides a detailed discussion of the unusual disposition of the inscription.⁷³

⁷¹ There is one tablet that I have not seen in Tehran.

⁷² Extended commentary on the inscription will appear in a study currently being prepared by A. Azzoni and M. B. Garrison.

⁷³ See also Garrison & Henkelman ii 80–2.

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFS 0083* occurs to date on twenty-two Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol. The transactions include payment rations and letter-orders.

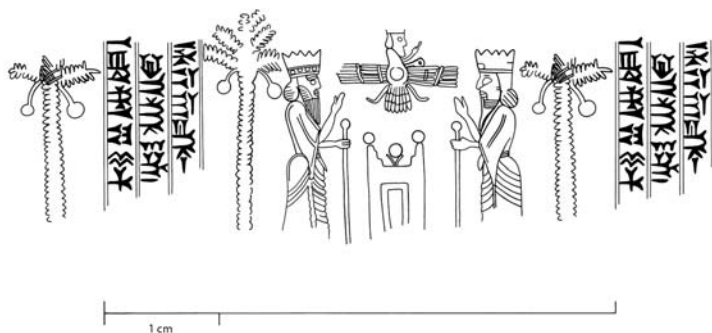
As is well known, PFS 0083* is the first seal used by Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the Persepolis institution. The earliest attested use of PFS 0083* is month 2 in year 15, May/June 507 (NN 0698); the latest attested use of the seal is month 9 in year 18, November/December 504. His second (and new) seal, PFS 0011*, is first attested in months 10/11 in year 19, mid-January–early March 502 (see the discussion below for PFS 0011*). The earliest dated appearance of Ziššawiš in the archive is in fact NN 0698, on which PFS 0083* occurs. While Ziššawiš appears very commonly within the Elamite texts, his seal occurs only on his payment rations and letter-orders. The usage of the seal thus aligns closely with Parnakka's second seal, PFS 0016*.

Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

Garrison (2017a: 333–49, 366–73) provides an in-depth discussion of the style and imagery of PFS 0083*. The scene, while heavily reliant on Assyrian prototypes, is, as far as we can discern, unique within Assyro-Babylonian and Achaemenid glyptic. The carving is exceptionally hard and detailed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hallock 1977: 128–9, pl. E(8); Lewis 1985: 114–15; Koch 1990: 227; Lewis 1994: 31; Garrison 1998: 126 n. 23; Aperghis 1999: 164; Garrison 2006: 95; Root 2002: 182, 193, fig. 5.3c; Henkelman 2003: 104 n. 1; Garrison 2007: 8–9; Garrison 2008: 180; Henkelman 2008a: 132, 147; Garrison and Ritner 2010: 40 n. 45; Garrison 2011b: 60, figs. 40–1; Garrison 2014a: 72, 87, 88; Garrison 2014b: 500–2, 503–5, 506 n. 60, fig. 13; Garrison 2017b: 198, 214, fig. 7; Garrison 2017c: 32, 37, 39, 53, 67, 86, 115, 333–4, 337, 339–42, 345–6, 348–50, 366–8, 373, 377–9, 381, 384; Garrison 2018: 651–2, 667 n. 64.

2.2. PFS 0011*



5.5. Collated line drawing of PFS 0011*.

Seal Type: cylinder	Photograph: Fig. 2.83
Earliest Dated Application: 502	Style: Court Style
Language of Inscription: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian	
Preserved Height of Image: 2.10 cm (incomp.)	Preserved Length of Image: 4.50 cm (comp.)
Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA	Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.40 cm
Number of Impressions: 97	Quality of Impressions: fair-excellent
Completeness of Image: complete except for details (and some signs) along top and bottom edges	

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Attendant stands on either side of crenellated tower structure above which there is figure emerging from winged ring; date palms frame central scene of attendants and structure; panelled inscription in terminal field.

The attendants, shown in profile, face tower structure. They are exact doubles of each other simply rotated 180 degrees. Each attendant holds his left arm bent and extends it outwards at waist level to grasp a staff. Each holds his right arm bent and extends it outwards in front of his face, hand cupped upwards. Each attendant wears an elaborate version of Persian court robe. Garment is very detailed with voluminous elbow-length sleeves on its upper part, central vertical fold from which diagonal folds depend on its lower part. One end of belt is indicated at waist. Each figure has long pointed beard with horizontal and vertical striations that rests on his chest; round mass of hair (striated) at the back of his neck. Each attendant wears a dentate crown (fully preserved only on figure to left of tower structure). Crown has five points and band with four circular bosses (only one of these circular bosses is preserved on crown of figure to right of tower structure).

Rectangular tower structure between attendants has central recessed panels and crenellated profile along top edge. V-shaped device in top centre of structure holds circular element. Similar circular elements are indicated at top of upper outer edges of structure.

Above tower structure floats figure in winged ring, facing to right. This figure holds one arm slightly bent and extends it outwards before his face, hand cupped upwards. Holds other arm bent and extends it outwards along top of wing, hand grasping ring. Garment cannot be determined. Blunt-pointed beard rests on his chest; oval-shaped coiffure at back of neck. Wings are broad and rectangular in outline. Wings are divided vertically by ribs(?), two on each wing. Feathers run horizontally length of each wing. Tail is divided horizontally by two ribs(?). Feathers run vertically length of tail. Tendril with upturned end depends to each side of tail.

Date palms flank central group of attendants, crenellated tower structure, and winged symbol. Each has cluster of dates hanging to either side of tree trunk.

Trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) royal-name inscription, disposed vertically in the terminal field, has case lines and is enclosed in a panel.

Inscription

Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian

- (01) [a-da-]ᵐᵃᵐ : da-a-ra-ya-[va-u-ša XŠ]
 (02) [DİŠ, U DİŠ]da-ri-ia-ᵐᵃᵐ-[u-iš EŠŠANA]
 (03) [ana-ku]ᵂᵃᵐda-ri-ia-ᵐᵃᵐ[šárru rabû]

Translation: ‘I Darius, King’ (in Babylonian, ‘Great King’)

The inscription is discussed in some detail in Garrison (2014a: 71–2) and (2017c: 353–4, 258–66).

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFS 0011* occurs to date on seventy-one Elamite documents, always in the single-seal protocol. The transactions include one allocation for a religious feast, one payment of worker’s rations, and many payment rations and letter-orders.

The payment rations and letter-orders are to be expected. PF 0672 is for a special religious ceremony over which Ziššawiš presided; hence the occurrence of his seal on the document.⁷⁴ One text is somewhat unexpected, PF 0614, a standard transfer of wine; for some reason, Ziššawiš’s bureau is involved.⁷⁵

PFS 0011* is the second seal used by Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the Persepolis institution.⁷⁶ The earliest attested use of PFS 0011* is months 10/11 in year 19, mid-January–early March 502; the latest dated use of the seal is months 10/11 in year 25, mid-January–early March 496.⁷⁷ Interestingly, Ziššawiš continues to issue *halmi* for travel in years 27 and 28, including NN 1950, a travel ration for animals dated to month 12 in year 28 (March/April 493), the latest dated document from the archive.

Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

PFS 0011* is one of the great masterpieces of Persepolitan glyptic and one of the earliest attested examples of the canonical Court Style. Garrison (2017c:

⁷⁴ For the text and ceremony, see Henkelman 2008a: 229, 285, 439, 440, 472, 549–50, 558.

⁷⁵ Indicated both by the appearance of PFS 0011* and the naming of a scribe in a colophon.

⁷⁶ See Garrison (2017c: 374–5, fig. 5.29) for a Ziššawiš named in the Treasury archive using PTS 06*. The likelihood that this individual is the same as the one in the Fortification archive seems remote.

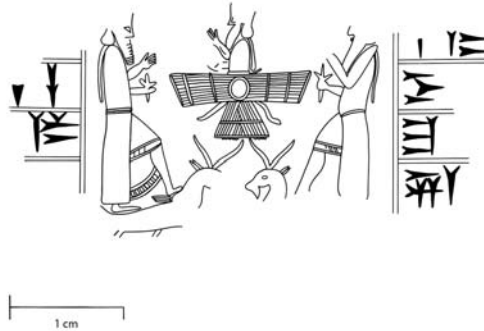
⁷⁷ There is just over a one-year hiatus between the latest attested use of PFS 0083* (month 9 in year 18, November–December 504) and the earliest attested use of PFS 0011*. As Garrison (2017c: 350) notes, the journal NN 2493 records Ziššawiš receiving wine rations and issuing *halmi* throughout year 19.

349–73) provides a detailed analysis of the style and imagery of the seal as well as its possible socio-political significance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hinz 1971: 302, 307; Hallock 1977: 128–9; Root 1979: 120; Koch 1990: 227; Root 1990b: 44; Garrison 1991: 27 n. 87; Lewis 1994: 30, 31; Garrison 1996a: 42 n. 60, 45 n. 71; Garrison 1996b: 26 n. 38, 28; Garrison 1998: 126 n. 23, 128 n. 24, 131 n. 30; Aperghis 1999: 164; Root 1999: 170; Garrison 2000: 141, 142, 143, 154, fig. 18; pl. 22:18; Garrison 2001: 72 n. 11, 73, figs. 15–16; Anderson 2002: 179–180, 181, 184, 200 n. 30, fig. 21; Henkelman 2003: 103, 104 n. 1, 107; Root 2003: 260, 261, fig. 5; Merrillees 2005: 34; Garrison 2007: 8–9; Kuhrt 2007: 555, fig. 11.44; Garrison 2008: 174 n. 54, 176, 180; Henkelman 2008a: 132, 147, 407, 546, 550; Root 2008: 100, 104; Henkelman and Stolper 2009: 308 n. 121, 316–17; Garrison 2010a: 340–1, 350, 353, figs. 32.3a, 4a; Garrison 2010b: 167–8; Root 2010: 208 n. 185; Álvarez-Mon 2011: 352; Finn 2011: 230–4, 240, 244, 256, 262, fig. 7; Garrison 2011b: 52–3, 59, 59 n. 158, 63–5, figs. 30–1; Garrison 2011c: 53; Henkelman 2011c: 70, 71–2; Garrison 2012a: 43–5; Canepa 2013: 333–4, fig. 14.10; Garrison 2013: 572, 586; Root 2013: 41 n. 41; Garrison 2014a: 70, 71–3, 76, 79, 84, 85–90, 91–2, figs. 7.4–6; Garrison 2014b: 500–2, 504–7, fig. 13; Garrison 2017b: 196, 220, 222, fig. 4; Garrison 2017c: ix, 9, 32, 37, 39, 53, 67, 79, 86, 100, 115, 145–7, 149, 151–2, 159, 161, 169, 174, 180, 230, 232, 244, 255–6, 281, 287, 324–6, 333–4, 338, 348–66, 368–9, 371–3, 376, 380–5, 405, 407, 414, pls. 10–13; Garrison 2018: 651–2.

3. Ašbazana: PFS 1567* and PTS 14*

3.1. PFS 1567*



5.6. Collated line drawing of PFS 1567*.

Seal Type: cylinder

Earliest Dated Application: 494

Language of Inscription: Elamite

Preserved Height of Image: 2.1 cm (incomp.)

Photograph: Fig. 2.65

Style: Modeled Style

Preserved Length of Image: 4.30 cm (incomp.)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Number of Impressions: 6

Quality of Impressions: fair-good

Completeness of Image: large segment of middle of design survives

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Attendant stands on goat-fish to either side of figure emerging from winged ring; inscription in terminal field.

Attendants are turned inwards to face each other. Attendant at left (top of head not preserved) steps forwards placing back leg on tail of goat-fish, forward leg on fin emerging from back. Faces right, body and head rendered in profile. Holds one arm bent and extends it upwards diagonally in front of his chest; hand is open, thumb pointed upwards. Holds other arm bent and extends it outwards at abdomen level, hand grasping three-petal flower. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee; decorative border, hatch pattern between horizontal borders, at hem over forward knee and at hem extending between legs. Long ribbon(?) hangs down along back, perhaps part of headdress (not preserved). Thick squared beard with horizontal striations rests over chest; flattened teardrop-shaped coiffure at back of neck.

Goat-fish (tail, forelegs, and snout not preserved) at left faces right. Fins emerge at back and along bottom of body. Two long horns, depicted frontally, emerge from top of head; two short ears are indicated at back of head.

Attendant at right (lower legs, left hand and most of head not preserved) steps forwards on back of goat-fish. Faces left, body and head rendered in profile. Holds left arm bent and extends it upwards in front of his chest. Holds right arm bent and extends it outwards at abdomen level, hand grasping three-petal flower. Wears belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee; decorative border, hatch pattern between horizontal borders, at hem over forward knee. Long ribbon hangs down along back, perhaps part of headdress (not preserved). Long squared beard rests over his chest.

Only head of goat-fish at right is preserved, facing left. Two long horns, depicted frontally, emerge from top of head; two short ears are indicated at back of head. Short pointed beard is under chin.

Figure emerging from winged ring (top of head and most of lower arm not preserved) faces left. Holds one arm bent and extends it upwards diagonally in front of its chest; hand is open, thumb pointed upwards. Apparently holds lower arm bent and extends it outwards along top of wing. Wears belted garment; thin short projection at back of belt. Long ribbon hangs down along back, perhaps part of headdress (not preserved). Thick squared beard rests over its chest; oval-shaped coiffure at back of neck. Ring is relatively small and embedded in wings. Wings are broad and rectangular with feathers indicated by long parallel horizontal lines intersected in each case

Panelled inscription is in terminal field.

Elamite

- There are four preserved lines. The lines are large, the signs large and well-spaced. The inscription is oriented along the horizontal axis of the seal design with case lines and enclosed in a panel. As noted in Garrison (1998: 117–18, 125), the inscription clearly lacks the last sign, *-na*, in the personal name of the seal owner; curiously, the inscription on PTS 14*, the second seal belong to Ašbazana, contains the same omission.

With the exception of Fort. 1270-101+1348-103 (see n. 51), Ašbazana, and his seal, appear in the archive only in year 28 (494/3). As noted above (p. 225),

⁷⁸ See e.g. Hallock 1977: 129, Garrison 1998, 115–17, Henkelman 2003: 119–26, Garrison 2017a: 53–4.

the general consensus is that Ašbazana replaced Parnakka as the director of the Persepolis institution in month four of year 28 (July/August 494).

Ašbazana receives payment rations of enormous quantities, as, for example, in the following text:⁷⁹

⁰¹ [280] l. flour, ⁰² 10 l. *mitruša*, ⁰³ 10 l. roasted barley, ⁰⁴ 10 l. *mitli*, ⁰⁵ 3 l. cereal products. ⁰⁶ Total: 313 l., ^{07–09} allocation from Umišša (at) Andarantiš, ^{09–10} Ašbazana has received as rations/payment, ^{10–11} during 1 day. ^{12–14} Fourth month, 28th year (July–Aug. 494). ^{15–16} Unuyaka wrote (this document).

(memorandum NN 1359; seal: PFS 1567*)

These payments are much larger than those for Parnakka, who receives 180 litres of flour per day.⁸⁰

Hallock originally collated PFS 1567* with PTS 14* (Garrison 1991: 23 n. 13 perpetuates the error). This collation is not correct, although clearly both seals belong to him. The imagery on the two seals is remarkably similar (see below).

Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

PFS 1567* is another striking example of the perpetuation of Assyrian composition, iconography, and style in Persepolitan glyptic. The seal is executed in a bold modelled style of carving with much attention to detail. The basic compositional rubric, attendants flanking a winged symbol, is well known in Assyrian glyptic.⁸¹ The goat-fish are traditional creatures in the Assyrian divine repertoire and are associated with the water god Ea.⁸²

The design is an ambitious one, and the seal matrix itself is quite large by Persepolitan standards. The composition bears some structural similarity to the scenes on PFS 0082* and PFS 0389*. Even more striking is PFS 3035* (Figs. 2.62–2.63), where the pedestal creatures are fish-men and the scene includes a stylized tree.

The thick wings with horizontal feathers and diagonal sectional dividers on the winged symbol are very similar to what is seen in the winged symbol at Bīsotūn.

⁷⁹ Translation courtesy of W. F. M. Henkelman. These types of transactions (Hallock's H texts) are something akin to salary payments (see Hallock 1969: 23, Garrison 2017a: 63–4).

⁸⁰ For flour/grain payments to Parnakka, see NN 0961, NN 1895, NN 2038:01–07, NN 2183:05–06, NN 2206:06, NN 2477:03–04, NN 2286:03–04, Fort. 1018, PF 0666, PF 0667, PF 0668, PF 0669, PFa 04.

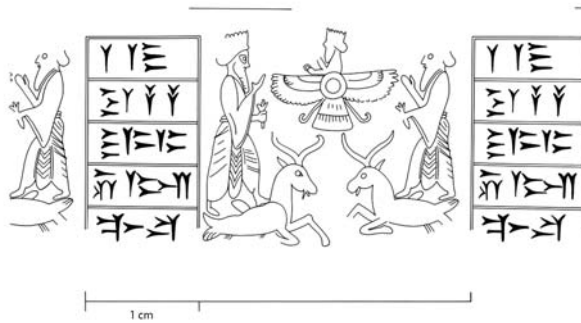
⁸¹ In Assyrian glyptic, the preferred arrangement is the winged symbol disposed over the stylized tree with attendants to either side; see Herbordt 1992: 106–8, pl. 3 nos. 1–3, Collon 2001: 82–5, nos. 151–65, Fügert 2015: 156–7.

⁸² See e.g. Black and Green 1992: 93, Collon 2001: 10. There is evidence that the Elamite god Napiriša was equated with or said to be similar to Ea; see e.g. Vallat 1983, Vallat 1997, Potts 2004: 152–4.

As already noted, Ašbazana replaced PFS 1567* with a new seal, PTS 14*, one that occurs only in the Treasury archive. Compositionally, the scene on PTS 14* is a replica of PFS 1567*, but the garments have been updated to the Persian court robe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hallock 1977: 129; Garrison 1991: 23 n. 13; Garrison and Root 1996/98: 9, 18; Dusinger 1997: 107; Garrison 1998: *passim*; Garrison 2000: 154; Henkelman 2003: 123 n. 26; Tavernier 2007: 47 s.v. 2.2.7 **Ašpačanā*; Garrison 2008: 174 (mistakenly cited as PFS 1527*); Henkelman 2008a: 97, 147; Root 2008: 106; Garrison 2011c: 45–6, figs. 19–20; Garrison 2013: 586–7; Colburn 2014a: 791; Garrison 2014a: 70–1, 87–8, 91, figs. 7.1–37; Garrison 2014b: 500, 505, 508 n. 61, fig. 11; Garrison 2017b: 201, fig. 11; Garrison 2017c: 53–4, 85–6, 101, 108, 334, 336, 367, 376.

3.2. PTS 14*



5.7. Collated line drawing of PTS 14*.

Seal Type: cylinder⁸³

Earliest Dated Application: 483

Language of Inscription: Elamite

Preserved Height of Image: 2.20 cm (incomp.)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.30 cm

Number of Impressions: 5⁸⁴

Completeness of Image: complete except for details and signs along top and bottom edges

Photograph: Fig. 5.8

Style: Court Style

Preserved Length of Image: 3.50 cm (comp.)

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.10 cm

Quality of Impressions: good

⁸³ The drawing of PTS 14* here is the same as that published in Garrison 1998: fig. 4. That drawing was based upon personal examination of the impression of PTS 14* on the left edge of PT 12 (4 506) (fig. 5.8), the only tablet sealed by PTS 14* now housed at the Oriental Institute, and a few details from the photograph of the left edge of PT 12a (4 757) published in Schmidt 1957: pl. 6.

⁸⁴ As noted, I have seen only PT 12 and a photograph of the left edge PT 12a. Cameron (1948: 55) observed that letter-orders from the Treasury archive are always sealed on the left edge; in only a few instances (none of them involving PTS 14*), is the seal applied to other surface(s).



5.8. Impression of PTS 14* on the left edge of PT 12 (Oriental Institute A23259).

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Attendant stands on goat-fish to either side of figure emerging from winged ring-in-disk; inscription in terminal field.

Attendants are turned inwards to face each other. Attendant at left steps forwards placing back leg on tail of goat-fish, forward leg on neck. Faces right, body and head rendered in profile. Holds right arm bent and extends it upwards diagonally in front of his chest, hand upturned. Holds left arm bent and extends it outwards at abdomen level, hand grasping three-petal flower. Wears double-belted Persian court robe. Upper part of robe has voluminous sleeves with outlined edges. Central vertical fold carries stacked V-shaped folds; diagonal folds indicated over forward and rear leg. Wears dentate crown. Thick squared beard with horizontal striations rests over chest; oval-shaped coiffure at back of neck.

Goat-fish at left faces right. Fins emerge at back and along bottom of body. Two long horns, depicted frontally, emerge from top of head; short ear is indicated at back of head; short beard at chin.

Attendant at right (top of head not preserved) steps forwards on back of goat-fish. Faces left, upper body and head rendered in profile. Holds right arm sharply bent and extends it upwards in front of his chest, hand open with thumb pointing upwards. Holds left arm slightly bent and extends it outwards at abdomen level, hand grasping three-petal flower. Wears double-belted Persian court robe; decorative elements same as on garment of other attendant. Long squared beard rests over his chest; flattened oval-shaped coiffure at back of neck.

Goat-fish at right is essentially duplicate of one at left.

Figure emerging from winged ring-in-disk faces left. Holds one arm bent and extends it upwards diagonally in front of its chest (hand not preserved). Holds other arm bent and extends it outwards along top of wing, hand holding ring. Garment cannot be determined. Wears dentate crown. Thick rounded beard rests

over chest; flattened oval-shaped coiffure at back of neck. Wings curve upwards along lower edges. Each wing is divided into three sections with feathers indicated along lower edges of middle and bottom sections. Tail is divided into two sections. Short appendage depends from either side of tail, ends curved upwards.

Panelled inscription is in terminal field.

Inscription

Elamite

- (01) ^{DIS}*aš-*
- (02) *ba-za*
- (03) DUMU *pa-*
- (04) *ni-x(-x-)*
- (05) *pi-ṛna*

Translation: Ašbaza(na), son of Pani . . . pi

The reading of line four still remains problematic. As noted in previous publications, Cameron read *ir(!)-rák(!)-áš(!)*; Garrison (1998: 125) more conservatively, *ni-x(-x-)*. Henkelman suggests for lines four and five: *ni-rak₀(!)- / ka₄-na*, thus Panirakka. Alternatively, the end of line 3 could be ^{DIS}*ka₄*, which would yield Kanirakka, but normally the ^{DIS} is omitted for the second personal name in seal inscriptions. Neither Panirakka nor Kanirakka is attested in the Treasury archive.

Although we do not have the bottom edge of the panel, the broken *-na* at the end of line five indicates that this is indeed the end of the patronymic (and, most likely, the inscription).

It is interesting that PTS 14*, which must have been made between 494/3 (the latest dated occurrence of PFS 1567*) and March/April 483, continues the tradition of monolingual seal inscriptions in Elamite (the most common language for seal inscriptions in the Fortification archive).

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PTS 14* occurs on five Elamite documents, PT 12, 12*a*, 12*b*, and 14, all letter-orders from Ašbazana.⁸⁵ Three preserve the name of the addressee, PT 12, 12*a*, 14, Baradkama the *kapnuškira/kanzabara* ('treasurer').⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Cameron did not publish the fragmentary tablet PT4 742 that carries an impression of PTS 14*.

⁸⁶ This is the same Baradkama who appears in the Fortification archive. In both archives, he uses PFS 0113* (Garrison & Root 2001: 88–89, cat.no. 19, Garrison 2014a: 73–75, figs. 7.7–7.8).

PTS 14* appears in the Treasury archive for less than one year. The earliest attestation (PT 12*b*) is month 12 in year 2 of Xerxes, thus March/April 483. The latest dated attestation (PT 14) is month 7 in year 3 of Xerxes, thus October/November 483.

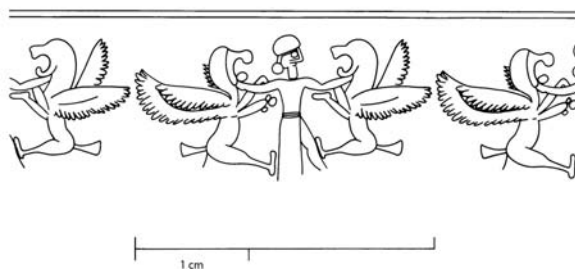
Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

As already noted, this is the second seal of Ašbazana. Garrison (1998: 129–31) argues that PTS 14*, despite the changes in some elements of iconography and style, was to all intents and purposes meant to pass as PFS 1567*, the first seal of Ašbazana, so close are the two seals in overall design.

The seal is a richly modelled version of the Court Style, close stylistically to PFS 0011* (Fig. 2.83).⁸⁷ The rendering of such a traditional Assyrian design in the Court Style is quite striking.⁸⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cameron 1948: 57, 58, 104, 109; Schmidt 1957: 7, 8–9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 24, pl. 6; Garrison 1998; Henkelman 2003: 123–8; Garrison 2017a: 76–7, 108, 114, 334, 336, 376, fig. 5.4.

4. Karkiš: PFS 0233 (cat. no. 52)



5.9. Collated line drawing of PFS 0233.

Seal Type: cylinder

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Preserved Height of Image: 1.50 cm (incomp.)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.80 cm

Number of Impressions: 15

Completeness of Image: complete except for details along top and bottom edges

Photograph: Fig. 5.10

Typology and Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.60 cm (comp.)

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.80 cm

Quality of Impressions: fair-good

⁸⁷ Discussed in more detail in Garrison 1998: 126–9.

⁸⁸ That is, the theme of attendants standing on goat-fish flanking a winged symbol evokes a much stronger Assyrian visual milieu than heroic encounters, the most popular theme in early Court Style glyptic.



5.10. Impression of PFS 0233 on the left edge of NN 1310.

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

Hero holds two rampant winged lion creatures.

Hero faces right with forward leg raised. Holds arms slightly bent and extends them outwards horizontally at shoulder level to grasp two rampant winged lion creatures by throat. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed. Squared beard rests above his chest; round coiffure at back of neck. Perhaps wears domed headdress.

Creature to left has bird's talons on hind legs and bird-tail. Holds upper fore-leg straight and extends it upwards diagonally to wrap paw around hero's upper arm; lower foreleg is straight, toes splayed, and extended upwards diagonally towards hero's chest. Creature raises straight forward hind leg to place bird's foot on hero's leg. Short thick bird-like tail curves slightly upwards. Double row of feathers is indicated on wing; mane is rendered by crisp serrated edge along lower contour of neck. Mouth is open.

Creature to right has bird's talons on hind legs and bird-tail. Holds upper fore-leg straight and extends it upwards diagonally to place paw on hero's arm; lower foreleg is straight, paw turned upwards, and extended upwards diagonally towards hero's elbow. Raises straight forward hind leg to place bird's foot on hero's knee. Short thick bird-tail curves slightly upwards. Creature has two wings, upper extending diagonally upwards from lower; lower wing has double row of feathers; upper wing has feathers indicated only along lower edge. Mouth is open.

Line border is preserved at top edge of design.

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal

PFS 0233 occurs on only five Elamite documents, none of which is dated: Fort. 6179, NN 0306, NN 1310, PF 0328, 0329.

Henkelman (2010: 704–13) has discussed Karkiš' dossier in some detail. (See also above, pp. 204, 216.) The occurrence of PFS 0233 on NN 0306, which concerns his satrapal table, allows the attribution of the seal to Karkiš. The other texts which name him (and his entourage) and carry his seal indicate that at some point he travelled through the regions under the purview of

the Persepolis institution. PFS 0233 and PFS 1480 (see the next entry) are the only instances where we capture in the archive the seals of satraps from outside of Pārsa.

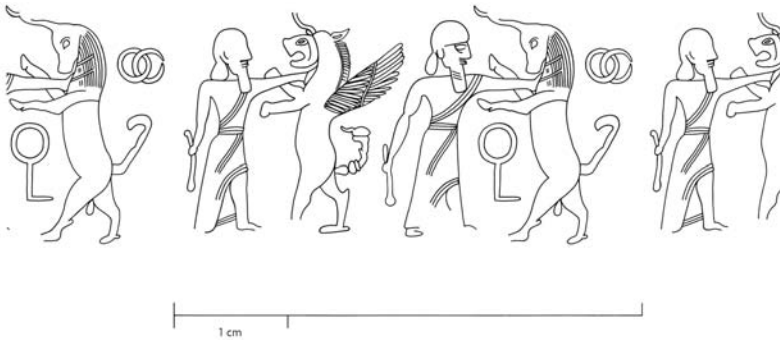
Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

PFS 0233 is a well-executed design. The carving is certainly local. The geometric rendering of the head of the hero is unusual in the local Fortification Style, but not unknown.⁸⁹

While the design is an accomplished one, it certainly is less virtuosic than PFS 0016*, PFS 0083*, PFS 0011*, PFS 1567*, and PFS 1480. The seal is perhaps an indication that not all high-rank administrators, even satraps, may require a seal of exceptional quality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Henkelman 2010: 704, 706, 709, 710 n. 162, 713, 721; Garrison 2017a: 53–4, 64, 80, 112; Garrison 2017c: 570 n. 206; Henkelman 2017a: 49–52.

5. Harbamišša: PFS 1480 (cat. no. 257)



5.11. Collated line drawing of PFS 1480.

Seal Type: cylinder

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Preserved Height of Image: 2.10 cm (incomp.)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.40 cm

Number of Impressions: 48

Completeness of Image: complete except for top edge and figural details along bottom edge

Photographs: Figs. 5.12–5.13

Typology and Style: Modeled Style

Preserved Length of Image: 4.10 cm (comp.)

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.30 cm

Quality of Impressions: fair-good

⁸⁹ The rendering of the head of the hero on PFS 0002 (Irtuppiya) is similar, but note the more naturalistic treatment of the lion heads on PFS 0233.

Description of Seal as Impressed Image

There are two combat heroic encounters. One hero grasps rampant bull; other hero grasps rampant winged lion creature. Two rings, interlocked, are in upper terminal field; ring atop pole is in field between group of hero and rampant bull.

Hero (feet not preserved) grasping rampant bull faces right; holds his left arm straight and extends it outwards at shoulder level to right to grasp rampant bull by throat. Holds right arm straight and extends it downwards diagonally behind body to hold short sword, dagger, or mace. Weapon terminates in rounded manner. Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee; two linear decorative elements run along bottom edge of garment over legs and (diagonally) over chest and legs. Long squared beard rests over his chest; teardrop-shaped coiffure at back of neck.

Bull is rampant and faces left. Holds one foreleg straight and extends it upwards diagonally before its head; holds other foreleg straight and extends it outwards horizontally. Tail undulates upwards diagonally curling upwards at its termination. Horn curls outwards horizontally from front of its head. Striations, running parallel, are indicated on its neck.



5.12. Impression of PFS 1480 on the obverse of PFUT 0384-201.



5.13. Impression of PFS 1480 on the left edge of PFUT 1376-201.

Hero (feet not preserved) grasping rampant lion creature faces right; holds his left arm straight and extends it outwards at shoulder level to right to grasp rampant lion creature by throat. Holds right arm straight and extends it downwards diagonally behind body to hold short hooked weapon (scimitar?). Wears double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves forward leg exposed below knee; bottom edge of garment, carrying two linear decorative elements, runs between legs; two linear decorative elements run also along bottom edge of garment over legs and (diagonally) over chest and legs. Long squared beard rests over his chest; rounded mass of hair at back of neck.

Lion creature is winged and has bird talons on hind legs and scorpion tail that terminates in stinger. Creature is rampant and faces left. Holds one foreleg straight and extends it upwards diagonally before its head to wrap paw around forearm of hero; holds other foreleg straight and extends it outwards horizontally. Single wing extends upwards diagonally from its back; two rows of long feathers cover length of wing. Segmented tail curls upwards. Horn (end not preserved) curves upward from front of head; small mass of flesh in front of horn. One triangular-shaped ear is indicated at back of its head; mane is rendered by serrated edge along contour of neck. Mouth is open.

In lower field between group of hero and rampant bull is ring atop pole; at bottom of pole short element extends outward horizontally to right. In upper terminal field are two interlocked rings.

Commentary on Seal Usage

Sealing Protocol: single-seal, counter-seal, and parallel-seal

PFS 1480 occurs on twenty-two documents: two ration allocations, NN 1154 and PF 1603; three Aramaic documents, PFAT 0556, 0645, and 0679; seventeen uninscribed documents, PFUT 0066–202, 0163–201, 0163–205, 0384–201, 0666–204, 0696–204, 0699–203, 0711–202, 0711–203, 0714–202, 0723–202, 1011–009, 1041–101, 1376–201, 1511–202, 1626–203, and 1673–205.

On all three Aramaic documents and three uninscribed documents (PFUT 0163–201, 0163–205, and 1511–202), PFS 1480 occurs with PFUTS 0497s in the parallel-seal protocol. On NN 1154, PFS 2631 occurs on the left edge. On the remaining uninscribed documents and PF 1603, PFS 1480 occurs in the single-seal protocol.

It is difficult to discern the significance of the variety of sealing protocols associated with PFS 1480. It is interesting to note that on the Aramaic and uninscribed tablets, PFS 1480 almost always occurs on four surfaces, and in two instances (PFUT 0163–201 and PFUT 1673–205) it is applied to five surfaces; on the two Elamite documents it occurs on two surfaces. It is generally the case in the archive that only seals of high administrative authority occur repeatedly on multiple surfaces of tablets.

The two Elamite texts record large allocations of flour to Harbamišša (in NN 1154 with two named companions) and *taššup* (perhaps soldiers). As noted above (p. 217), the amounts indicate very large groups consisting of thousands of men. Such large numbers of individuals receiving rations in single memoranda are rare in the archive. The number of soldiers may perhaps be a marker of the satrapal status of Harbamišša. Unfortunately, the three Aramaic texts are all badly broken and yield no clear readings.

The occurrence of PFS 1480 on both Aramaic and uninscribed documents seems noteworthy. No other satrapal-level seal is linked with either Aramaic or uninscribed documents, and seals representing high-rank officials/offices in general are absent on them (the one notable exception is PFS 0038, the seal belonging to Irtašduna).⁹⁰

If PFS 1480 is indeed linked to Harbamišša, the irregular sealing protocols may indicate his out-of-system status. Thus, on PF 1603 he seals alone, while on NN 1154 a counter-seal is required (perhaps reflecting some confusion as to whether a counter-seal is necessary?).⁹¹ Consistent and repeated use of the single-seal protocol normally indicates an individual of high administrative status. It may be significant that, to date, PFUTS 0497s always occurs with PFS 1480; again, in the normal run of things, such a pattern would indicate that PFS 0497s required the presence of PFS 1480. It may also indicate that the two seals, PFS 1480 and PFS 0497s, act in tandem (i.e. they reflect an official/office and subordinate respectively (rather than a receiver and supplier)).

Commentary on Seal Iconography and Style

PFS 1480 is an impressive glyptic artefact. The double heroic encounter is relatively rare in Persepolitan glyptic.⁹² The carving is deep, the forms broad, and there is much detail in the garments and animal bodies. This deeply modelled

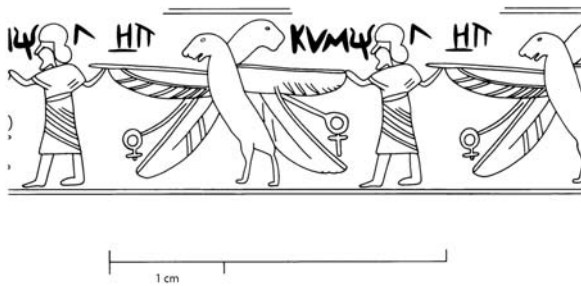
⁹⁰ PFS 0038 is applied to all six surfaces of PFUT 0854-208.

⁹¹ The case of Kambarma (Greek Gobryas) and his seal, PFS 0857s, is perhaps of some interest in this context. Gobryas, like Harbamišša, is not a part of the entrenched bureaucracy associated with the PFA institution; he and his seal are captured in the archive when he travels into the purview of the institution on a trip in late year 23 (early 498). As the head of one of the conspiratorial families and someone who married into the royal family, there is hardly any individual of higher social status within the archive. And yet his travel rations/payment rations always require a counter-seal (in distinction to Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Ašbazana, and Irdumartiya, who all seal in the single-seal protocol on payment rations: see the comments above, pp. 224–5). One can only surmise that Kambarma's out-of-system status dictated the application of a counter-seal. On the analogy of Kambarma, we would expect all or some of the documents linked with PFS 1480 to employ the counter-seal protocol.

⁹² PFUTS 0020 is a very close compositional parallel to PFS 1480. The two encounters are both combat with rampant lions; both heroes wear, however, the Persian court robe. For published examples of two heroes in the same design, see e.g. PFS 0152 (cat. no. 295), PFS 0931* (cat. no.

carving occurs regularly at Persepolis.⁹³ The style is indebted to Assyro-Babylonian prototypes.

The ring atop a pole and the two interlocked rings are noteworthy; both symbols would appear to be unique in Persepolitan glyptic. The ring atop pole apparently stands on the left corner of a horizontal element, which would appear to act as a ground line or stand. The two devices are, however, suspended in the space between the hero and the rampant bull, not at the bottom of the field. Our first inclination is to read this device as an Egyptian *ankh*, but the pole apparently does not extend downwards below the horizontal element, nor does the horizontal element extend to the left (like a crossbar on the *ankh* symbol). Egyptian *ankhs* occur on a few seals in Persepolitan glyptic.⁹⁴ PFS 0284* (Fig. 5.14) is an unusual heroic encounter; a hero controls a double-headed winged lion creature from which depend two appendages ending in a ring atop pole with crossbar.⁹⁵ Garrison and Root (2001: 192) interpret the devices on PFS 0284* as Egyptian *ankhs*; Garrison and Ritner (2010: 5) note a possible Syrian connection for the imagery. Other possible parallels for this device at Persepolis include PFATS 0263s (Fig. 5.15), which shows heraldic caprids around a ring atop a short pole under which there is a horizontal element acting as a stand/base. PFS 2117* is a very interesting worship scene: a figure in a winged device floats above a stylized tree; to left is an attendant in fish-cloak



5.14. Collated line drawing of PFS 0284*.

270), and PFUTS 0136* (Garrison and Ritner 2010: 28–33, figs. 29–33), the last two employing crossed animals. Of those scenes that show two heroes, and there are to date some seventeen examples, there is much variety of composition.

⁹³ See e.g. PFS 0038 (cat. no. 16), PFS 0429 (cat. no. 7), PFS 0513 (cat. no. 85), PFS 1387 (cat. no. 72), PFS 1458 (cat. no. 80), PFS 1641 (cat. no. 18), PFS 516 (cat. no. 98).

⁹⁴ Although the examples are relatively few in number, there is clear evidence of Egyptian and Egyptianizing imagery at Persepolis (Garrison and Ritner 2010).

⁹⁵ Garrison and Root 2001: cat. no. 111; Garrison and Ritner 2010: 5–6, figs. 3–4, with a more extended discussion of the imagery of the seal.



5.15. Collated line drawing of PFATS 0263s. Drawing by E. R. M. Dusingberre.

holding a pail, to right is a ring atop pole with crossbar and a second attendant. The device on PFS 2117* does appear to be an Egyptian *ankh*.

There are a few examples of Egyptian *ankhs* on seals dating to the Neo-Assyrian period.⁹⁶ On all of these Assyrian examples, the devices have a crossbar that bisects the pole relatively near the ring, i.e. the conventional form of an Egyptian *ankh*. The device on PFS 1480 appears, however, to be simply a ring atop a pole resting on a groundline.⁹⁷

The two linked rings have no parallel at Persepolis or, as far as we can determine, in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic; a single ring occurs on PFUTS 0890s.

⁹⁶ An example is Collon 2001: 13 (no. 204), an unprovenanced seal now in the British Museum; Collon identifies the device as a Syrian version of the Egyptian *ankh*. A seal preserved in impression from Tall Šeḥ Ḥamad (Fügert 2015, 116–18, no. 128) shows an elaborate heroic encounter; in the upper field is an alphabetic inscription and a ring atop pole with crossbar. Fügert (2015: 117), citing Collon's discussion of the BM seal, suggests that the device is either a Syrian version of the Egyptian *ankh* or a 'Kugelkreuz' (see the comments that follow). The same device occurs on an unprovenanced seal in the Marcopoli Collection (Teissier 1984: no. 286) showing a heroic encounter and various divine symbols; Teissier (1984: 182) identifies the device as an *ankh* and classifies the seal as either Assyrian or Babylonian dating to c.750–600. Impressions of a small, poorly preserved stamp seal from Nineveh carry the same device, which Herbordt (1992: 106, 228, no. Ninive 92, pl. 12, 21), without discussion, identifies as an *ankh*; the impressions occur on a tablet dated to 661. In all of these Assyrian examples, the devices have a crossbar that bisects the pole relatively near the ring, i.e. the conventional form of an Egyptian *ankh*. One should also note the device that Collon (2001: 13) calls a 'globe-topped dagger-shape'. The globe in the 'globe-topped dagger-shape' (Collon 2001: nos. 155, 158, 210, 228) in all cases is a solid mass (and thus different from the ring seen on PFS 1480). This 'globe-topped dagger-shape', which is rare in Neo-Assyrian glyptic, Collon (2001: 13, referencing Andrae 1977: 210, fig. 187) identifies as possibly either the *patru* (dagger) symbol of Aššur or the *sikkatu*, 'an object which was embedded in the walls of palaces and temples and from which hangings may have been suspended'.

⁹⁷ Devices on coins and seals from the western regions of the empire include other possible avenues of exploration. Boardman (1970: 24–5, fig. 4; 1998: 4–5, fig. 4, published inverted in relation to the chart in Boardman 1970) collected, as part of his analyses of linear devices that occur on pyramidal stamp seals linked with the western edges of the Persian empire, a selection of linear devices that appear as counter-marks on Achaemenid imperial coinage. Four of these devices consist of variations of the ring atop pole with crossbar, in one case inverted, but none are exactly the same as the device on PFS 1480. The same is true of the various linear devices that occur on

Were it not for the ring atop a pole and the two interlocked rings, we would have a design that was Assyrian or Assyrianizing in its cutting style and certain features of iconography (the garments). The phenomenon, a blend of Assyrianizing styles and iconography, is commonly documented in Persepolitan glyptic. The double heroic encounter, rare in both Assyro-Babylonian and Persepolitan glyptic, the ring atop a pole, and the interlocked rings suggest a specially made seal design. Its exact dating remains open to discussion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Garrison 2017c: 31, 57.

the pyramidal stamp seals (Boardman 1998: fig. 1). While there are several variations of rings and poles, none of them is exactly similar to the device that occurs on PFS 1480. There is, however, a nicely executed cylinder seal carrying a scene of heraldic winged human-faced caprids (Boardman 1970: pl. 8 no. 198, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 01.7609, unprovenanced); in the field between the creature at right and the central date-palm tree floats a ring from which emerges at its top a pole with crossbar at its termination (sign number D7 in Boardman 1998: fig. 1). Lastly, there are from Pasargadae several mason marks which consist of a ring attached to a pole with crossbar (Boardman 1998: fig. 10). While these linear devices on building stone, pyramidal stamps, coinage, and the cylinder seal are intriguing, none of them is exactly the same configuration as the device on PFS 1480.

Aršāma's seal in Oxford and Persepolis

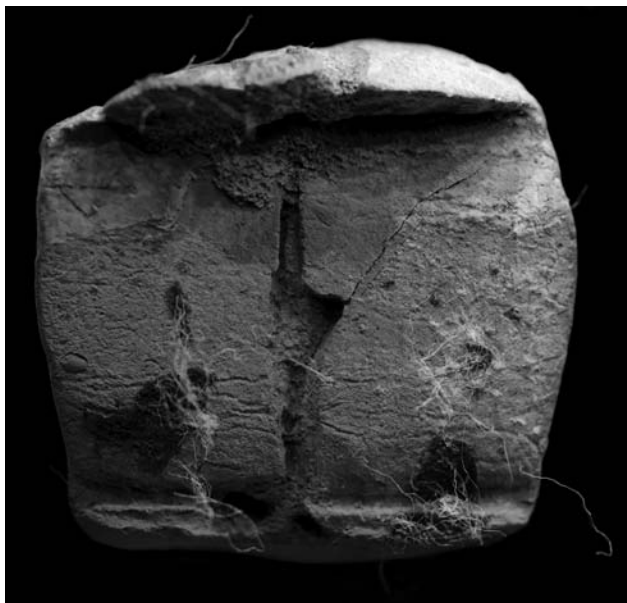
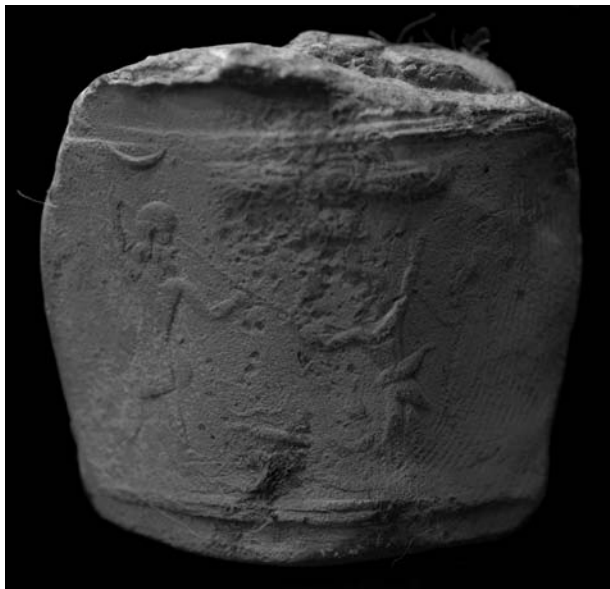


Plate 1. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. I, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

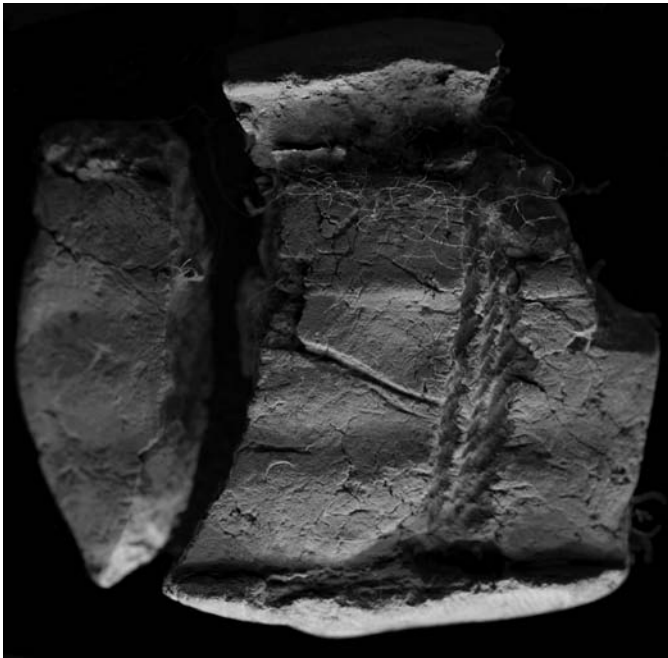
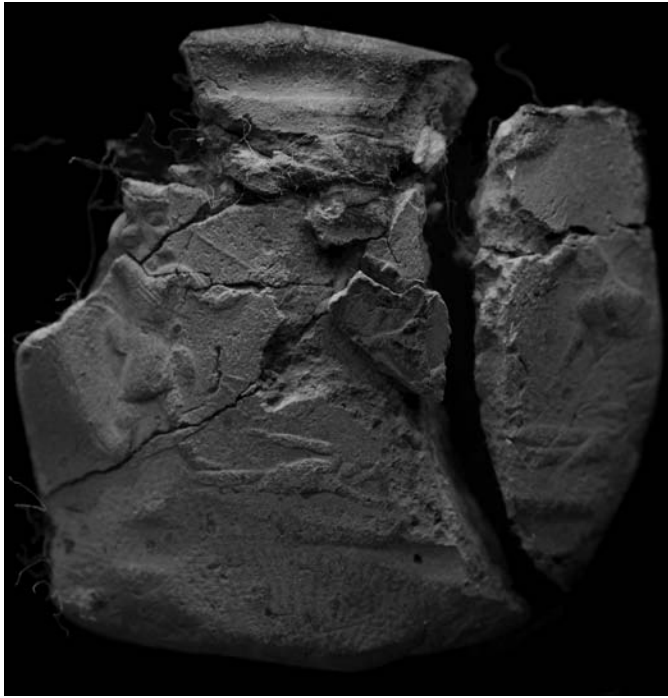


Plate 2. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. II, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

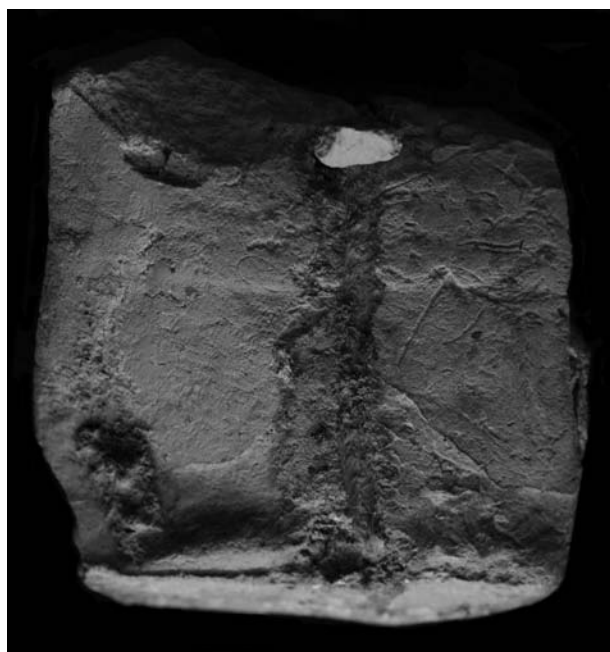


Plate 3. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. III, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

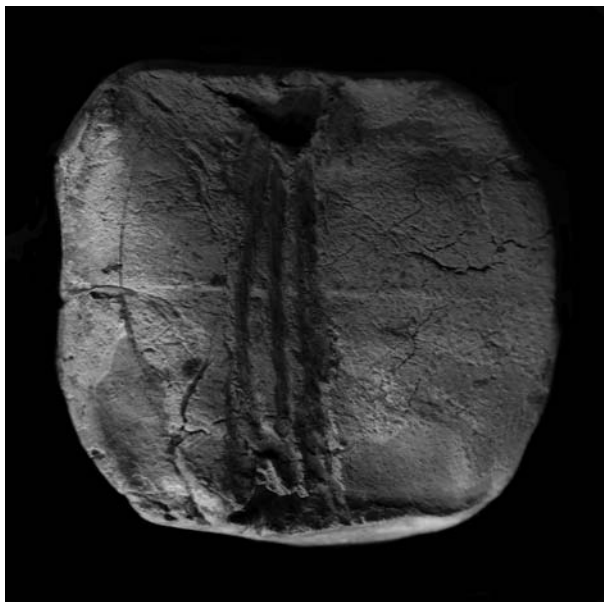
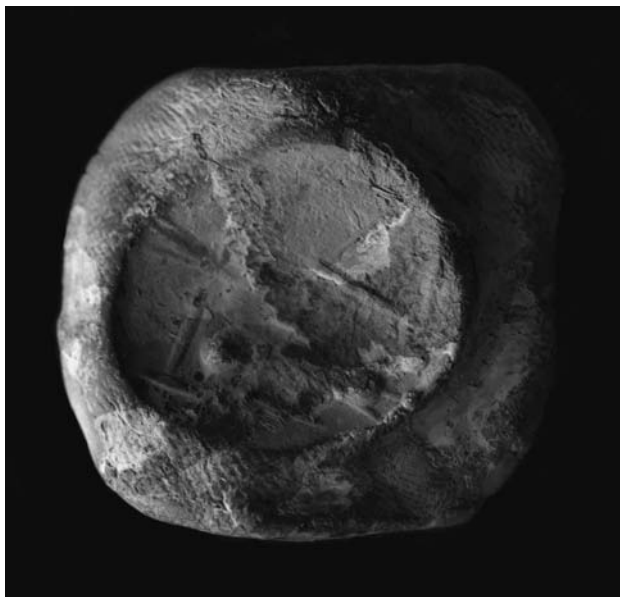


Plate 4. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. IV, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

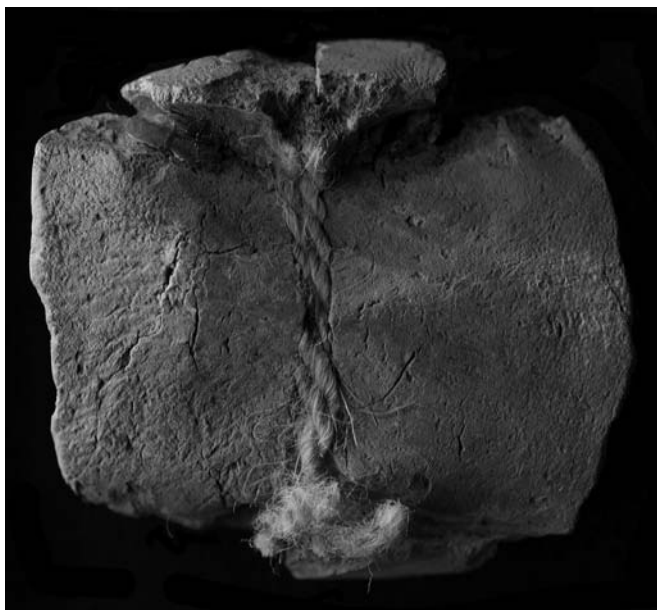


Plate 5. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. V, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.



Plate 6. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. VI, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

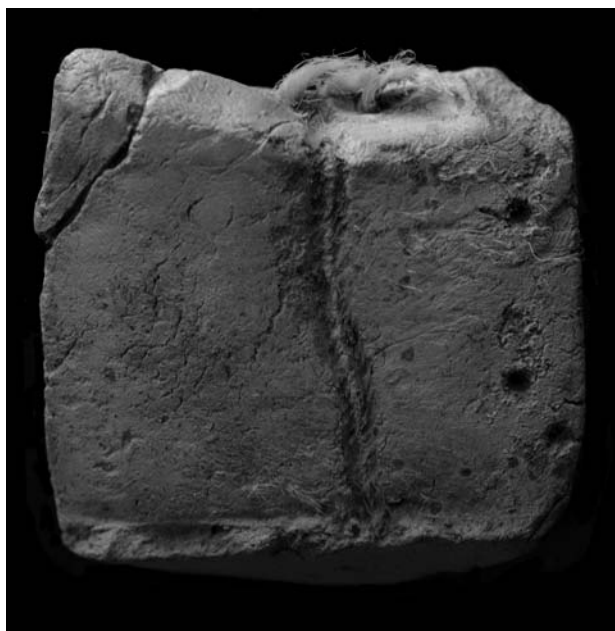


Plate 7. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. VII, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

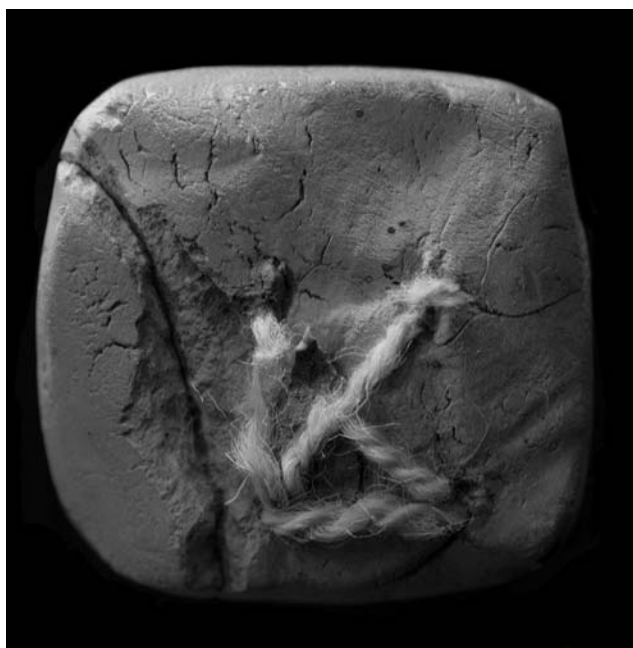


Plate 8. Letter-bulla Sigill.Aram. VIII, obverse (above) and reverse (below). Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Photograph courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Scale 2:1.

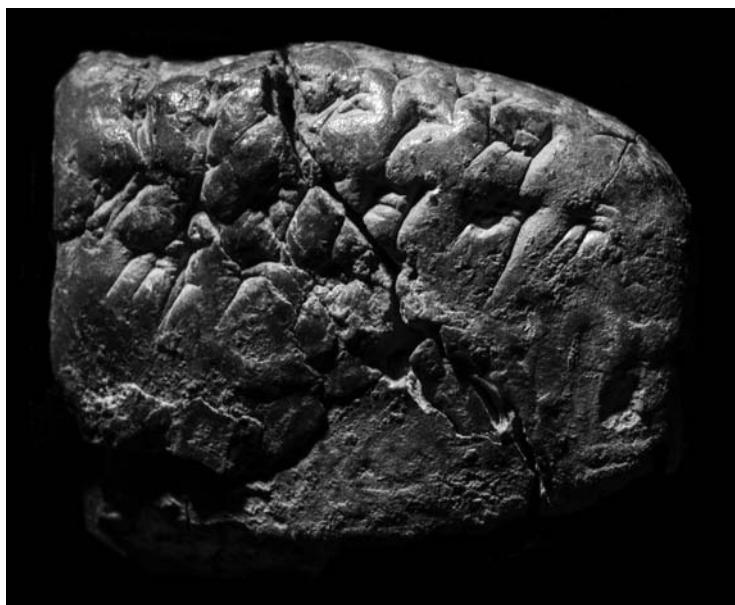


Plate 9. Fort. 0965-201, reverse (upper); NN 0958, reverse (middle) and upper edge (bottom). Scale 2:1.

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